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LEWIS & CLARK

W. J. F. M.

THE
PRIVATE LIFE
OF
LEWIS XV.

VOL. II.

PRIVATE

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THE
PRIVATE LIFE
OF
LEWIS XV.

IN WHICH ARE CONTAINED
THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS,
REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES,
AND ANECDOTES,
OF HIS REIGN.

— VIDEO MELIORA, PROBOQUE,
DETERIORA SEQUOR. Hor.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH
BY J.O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

L O N D O N:
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M.DCC.LXXXI.

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THE PRIVATE LIFE OF LEWIS XV.

HOWEVER desirous Cardinal Fleuri might be to maintain peace, and even disposed as he was to purchase it at the expence of France, because he knew well how to make the money return again in greater plenty, through the useful employments of that peace; and because he was sensible that war, by obstructing the channels through which this return was to be made, absorbed an infinitely greater proportion of property; yet he could not prevent one war, in which he found himself engaged notwithstanding all his efforts. The death of Frederic Augustus, King of Poland, and Elector of Saxony, revived the hopes of Stanislaus, the King's father-in-law, whose interests the young Monarch could not abandon. He declared to all the foreign Ambassadors who were at his Court, that he would not suffer any Power to oppose the freedom of elec-

1 Feb.
1733.

17 March,
1733.

7 May.

tion of a new King of Poland; that is to say, that he would prevent the election of any one except Stanislaus. In fact, the influence of France was soon conspicuous in the Diet. They made an act of general confederacy, by which it was decreed, that none but Piasfs, or Polish Noblemen, born of Catholic fathers and mothers, could pretend to the crown; and that no one, except the Primate, should proclaim the King, under pain of being declared an enemy to his country. The Diet also fixed the election for the 25th of August*, in order to give Stanislaus time to come into Poland. He had set out with all possible expedition; but, in order to deceive his enemies, it was given out, that the future Monarch was on board a squadron, destined for the Baltic. The farce was carried so far, as to embark a French Nobleman, supplied with every requisite to give him a more exact resemblance to the King. The Emperor Charles VI. was entirely averse to this choice. He had called Russia to his assistance; and these two Powers favoured the son of the late King, in contempt of the resolution of the Diet, which admitted none but natives to be candidates. Already were 30,000 Muscovites arrived, under the command of General Laszi, to compel the suffrages. Notwithstanding their menaces, Stanislaus, attended by one single confidential man†, after having penetrated into Poland, under favour of a disguise, by a different road from that which it was supposed he would have taken, was unanimously elected; except that there was one single Grandee who refused him his vote: he quitted the assembly, and retired to some dis-

* It was afterwards put off to the 12th of September.

† M. de Solignac.

tance from the place of election, with the troops he had brought with him. This incident would not have been attended with any fatal consequences to Stanislaus, had he put himself at the head of the Plospolite, as he was urged to do, and had he marched directly up to the traitor, whom he would have cut to pieces. But, whether it were that he would not mark his accession to the throne by the effusion of the blood of his subjects; whether it were from indolence, or contempt for the rebels, whose numbers did not appear formidable to him*, he remained perfectly quiet; and allowed the opposite party all the time to strengthen themselves with the assistance of the Russians, whose menaces soon had their effect. They arrived at Warsaw, and the Diet was dispersed, upon which this King of a day retired to Dantzic, with part of those who were attached to him. The General of the enemy, being master of the country, convoked an assembly at Prague, where the Elector of Saxony was chosen King, under the title of Augustus II.

While the new Monarch was ordering his coronation at Cracow, General Lascki advanced towards Dantzic; where part of the Polish nobility attendant upon Stanislaus had taken refuge. He arrived there on the 2d of March, summoned the inhabitants to submit to Augustus; endeavoured to intimidate them with the apprehension of the most vigorous hostilities, and, upon their refusal, commenced a blockade;

* We read, in the life of Stanislaus by M. Aubert, the following beautiful sentiment: "that he would neither insure his crown at the expence of the lives of his subjects, nor expose himself to mark his accession to the throne by the effusion of their blood."

THE PRIVATE LIFE

and opened the trenches; but the number of the besiegers not being sufficient, on account of the extent of the city, and the valour and resolution of the besieged, Count Munich brought up a considerable number of troops, took upon himself the command of the Muscovite army, and seized upon the fort of Weichselmunde, and several other works, the possession of which prevented the French, who were brought by the King's Squadron, from entering the city.

Cardinal Fleuri, being under the necessity of complying with the wishes of Lewis XV. and of supporting the honour of the nation, thought he should have got rid of the matter by scattering money with profusion among the Diet; he would have been apprehensive of raising an alarm among the Northern Powers, had he sent a numerous army capable of supporting the election of Stanislaus. He was particularly desirous of keeping upon good terms with England, which would not quietly have beheld maritime preparations of too formidable a nature: he therefore contented himself with the equipping of a trifling Squadron, conveying only 1500 men, commanded by a Brigadier*. He intended to have sent more secretly, and by degrees, as they might have been wanted; and, by this false and pusillanimous manœuvre, to the disgrace of France, rendered the whole expedition abortive.

The first party of the succours sent to Stanislaus, had reached Denmark without any accident. The officer who commanded it, having reconnoitred, as he passed along, the situation of Dantzic, and of the

* M. de la Motte,

army

O F L E W I S X V.

army of the besiegers, had thought it would be madness to attempt a landing with his small party. Count Plelo, Ambassador from France to Copenhagen, beheld this retreat with indignation, and considered it as disgraceful: he was young, lively, and enterprising; and, availing himself of the powers vested in him, he resolved, contrary to the advice of the Commandant, who would have waited for the rest of the reinforcement, to march up to the besieged city, with the resolution of throwing himself into it, or of perishing: this may readily be collected from the following sentence in his letter to Count Maurepas, which is recorded by Voltaire: *I am certain that I shall not return; and therefore recommend my wife and children to you.* When he came within view of the besiegers lines, guided by the impetuosity of his zeal, he attempted, with a handful of men, whom he inspired with the same enthusiasm of glory, to force a passage through them, but in vain. He lost many of his men in this action, and was himself killed, exposing his life like a common soldier. The General was reproached with having had too much deference for the Ambassador, who was better calculated for the profession in which he lost his life, than for the character he was invested with. If the former did not display so much bravery, he conducted himself at least with singular prudence, a quality no less essential in his situation; he put a stop to the consequences of this rash act, the ill success of which he had foreseen. He made his retreat with a great deal of skill, and got back in good order to Copenhagen, where he was joined by the second division of his detachment. It was then resolved to make a more judicious attempt, and to obtain a passage rather by

THE PRIVATE LIFE

stratagem than by force. In vain were all sorts of artifices employed, and the troops were upon the point of retreating shamefully, without having done any thing, when an officer about twenty years of age offered, and staked his life upon the business, to introduce part of the troops into the city, by conveying them in the night-time in boats along the river; he executed his project, notwithstanding the fire of the besiegers, to whom the noise of the oars gave some suspicion. This small reinforcement reanimated the besieged, and, in expectation of having more considerable succours, they defended themselves with vigour; but the assistance failing, they were at last obliged to submit. Stanislaus himself, perceiving, by the situation to which Dantzic was reduced, that he should soon be obliged to open his gates to the enemy, thought proper to prevent the fate that was prepared for him. He knew that a price was set upon his head, and therefore stole out of the city by night, two days before the capitulation, conducted by a trusty guide, perfectly well acquainted with the country. After many circuitous marches, disguises, fatigues, and dangers, of which the King gives an affecting description in his letter to the Queen of France, he arrived at Konigsberg, in the King of Prussia's dominions, where he was treated with all the honours due to his rank. He resided there some time, after which he returned into France.

Thus was Stanislaus driven a second time from the throne of Poland, and perhaps this was a fortunate circumstance for him. This Prince, of a disposition entirely mild, and little of a warrior, was not very suitable to a people always preserving traces of their first origin from the Sarmatians; a people active
and

and turbulent, breathing nothing but independence and arms, and whose natural restlessness was still increased by their neighbours jealous of the liberty they enjoyed, while they themselves were writhing under the yoke of despotism. He would probably have accelerated only the revolution, and the dismembering of Poland, which we have seen effected thirty years after this, under Poniatowski, a private Gentleman of Poland, raised to the throne as he was; like him, destitute of authority within, of support from without; like him, magnanimous, humane, beneficent, and popular, delighting in literature and the arts; but wanting that character of energy, intrepidity, and even ferocity, which is alone capable of keeping a number of tumultuous hords in awe, and of crushing their insurrections. It is well known that Augustus was not of a more warlike turn than his competitor; neither was he possessed of more firmness and confidence; but he was son to the late King, he was already master of a powerful and neighbouring State, he was a member of the empire, nephew to Charles VI. and in alliance with Russia. Prussia had not yet acquired that weight, which a great Monarch has since given to it. These circumstances must necessarily have rendered his election more durable and firm, which, indeed, was the event. The Czariņa's vanity was interested, to support in the son the work of Peter the Great in favour of the father; and the Emperor enjoyed the satisfaction of avenging himself upon France by this humiliation, which, however, was but a poor indemnity for all the possessions that kingdom had taken from him.

Having lost the favourable opportunity, the hope of restoring Stanislaus to the throne of Poland was

THE PRIVATE LIFE

given up. But the glory of Lewis XV. would not allow him to suffer this insult upon his father-in-law to pass with impunity; and the Cardinal, notwithstanding his pacific turn, was compelled into a serious quarrel, because he had not exerted himself with sufficient vigour in the first instance. To prevent this quarrel from becoming general, he had previously secured England and Holland in his interest. M. de Chavigni, the French Minister at London, had presented a memorial to the British Court, of the complaints the King had against the Emperor. They turned upon the convention that Prince had entered into with the Czarina, to prevent the election and coronation of King Stanislaus, and upon the outrages committed by those two Powers against a free nation. These complaints were thought to be legitimate motives for war: the same opinion was entertained of them at the Hague, where a treaty of neutrality for the Low Countries was signed, on the 4th of December, 1733. The republic of Venice asked and obtained the same surety in Italy. The Cardinal was the more pleased with having convinced the other States of the King's moderation, and of his being far from having any ambitious views that might alarm them, as he had been obliged to have recourse to a disagreeable, though necessary act of violence. He would certainly have avoided it, if it had been possible to forget a city so near to France as Nanci, and to run the risque of the enemy's seizing upon it. For decency's sake, the Dutches of Lorraine was previously acquainted with what was going to happen. Count Belleisle had been charged with this commission, and he entered her capital on the 13th of October, with a body of troops. He was not to in-
croach

croach upon her authority, nor to meddle with her revenues, and her consent had been obtained; but we may imagine what sort of consent this was. It is upon such occasions, particularly, that the philosopher acknowledges, with horror, that there is no right upon earth, except that of the strongest. After these preliminary steps, the most advantageous plan of operations was settled. Nothing could be done with the Muscovites, on account of their distance; so that the whole weight of the war fell upon the Emperor: Spain was engaged in the contest; an alliance was formed, to which Sardinia acceded, and the Emperor was attacked at once both on the Rhine and in Italy. The King took upon himself the sole management of the war in Germany, and engaged also to assist the King of Sardinia in Lombardy, while the army of his Catholic Majesty was to undertake the conquest of the two Sicilies. Marshal Berwick had advanced with his troops to the borders of the Rhine, which he crossed, laid siege to the fortress of Kell, and took it. The Count de Charolois and the Prince of Conti served under him, as well as the Prince of Dombes, the Count d'Eu, and the Count de Clermont. The latter had obtained a brief from the Pope, which permitted him to bear arms, and keep his preferment in the church. Count Saxe was learning the rudiments of his art there, in quality of Major General. After a number of skilful marches, which deceived Prince Eugene, the Emperor's most able General, Philippsburg, the bulwark and the key, of Germany, was invested. This strong place did not make so good a defence as might have been expected. Notwithstanding the obstacles from the soil, and from a continual rain, the

12 June,
2734.

the works were carried on with vigour. The soldiers, animated by the presence of the General, and by the example of so many illustrious combatants, waded through the water, up to their middle, to the attacks, with an ardour and a bravery worthy of the highest encomiums. Berwick having made himself master of most of the outworks, was preparing to give the assault to the body of the place, when he was killed, in the midst of his children, and some General officers, by a cannon-shot, while he was examining above the reverse of the trenches, the effect of the batteries which he had ordered. Thus this experienced, vigilant, and strict Marshal, who, to complete his eulogium, was a man of uncommon probity, perished in the bed of honour, like Turenne, the victim of his own bravery and activity. His loss afflicted, but did not discourage the troops. The command devolved on the Marquis d'Asfeld, the oldest Lieutenant General: though much inferior in capacity, he reaped all the advantage of the skilful dispositions made by the deceased hero, and, with his colleague, the Duke de Noailles, received all the honour of this siege. At length, after six weeks open trenches, infinite labours, unforeseen, and extraordinary obstacles, such as continual rains, overflowing of the Rhine, inundation of the works, and the presence of the Imperial army always in readiness to attack the intrenchments, the city capitulated on the 18th of July.

The Marquis d'Asfeld, and the Duke of Noailles, now created Marshals of France, were left to command the army; but being jealous of each other, they acted no more in concert, and did nothing the rest of the campaign, nor the following. Those who

who have served under them, describe the first as a man grown old in the profession of arms, and who, being the architect of his own fortune, had risen to the command of the corps of engineers, though he was not perfectly versed in their science; he was irresolute, having no settled plan, acting only according to occurrences, and not knowing sufficiently how to avail himself of the advantages he might derive from his own position, or that of the enemy. The second they represent as a man of great wit, and having a very extensive knowledge of all branches of his art; but upon the whole, no very great warrior, being timid; and for that reason not much esteemed by the troops; besides, he was short-sighted; a defect very dangerous in a General. He was, moreover, self-conceited, extremely hasty, and obstinate, a subtle, and fortunate courtier.

In the third campaign, in order to prevent the ill effects of the misunderstanding between the two Commanders, which were perceived, though too late, the Marshal de Noailles was sent into Italy, instead of Marshal Coigny, who went into Germany. Notwithstanding this wise precaution, and the harmony that subsisted between the new General and Marshal d'Asfeld, Prince Eugene contrived by his skill to stop the progress of the French arms. All that these competitors were able to do against this old warrior, was by skillful marches, and counter-marches, of which Count Belleisle was one of the principal contrivers, to preserve the conquests already made, and to post themselves always so advantageously, or to intrench themselves so strongly, that they could not be forced to fight. But in the desperate state the affairs of the Emperor were in, by the considerable losses he experienced in his

THE PRIVATE LIFE

other possessions, it was a master-stroke of his General, to reduce the French to a kind of defensive war, in the midst of their victories; and his Imperial Majesty was made sensible, too late, of the wisdom of Prince Eugene, contrary to whose advice he had undertaken this war, thinking he should have nothing more than a child and an old man to deal with.

Charles VI. did in fact pay dear in Italy for the fruitless vengeance he had enjoyed in the north. It was not possible to have more rapid success. The French army, commanded by Marshal Villars, had received orders to join the King of Sardinia's army, in order to effect the conquest of Lombardy. The good fortune of this General did not forsake him in his old age: the cities opened their gates before him; but in taking this employment upon himself, he had consulted rather his zeal, and his thirst of glory, than his age and his strength. The excessive heats of the climate, the fatigue of body and mind inseparable from his duties, soon affected his health. He resigned the command to the Marquis of Coigny, and retired to Turin, where he died a few days after, in the same room, in which, it was said, he was born: he exclaimed, that he regretted only the honour of not dying in the field of battle, and preserved to the last his natural vain-glorious character, which he had oftentimes carried too far. It is asserted, that he had solicited this last command, with a presumption excusable in a young warrior, but ridiculous in a grey-haired hero of fourscore. A blind confidence and a rash bravery had always been successful with him; they had supplied in him the want of a profound study
of

17 June,
1734.

of his art, which he had never gone through, though he had entered early into the service. At that period, his fortune was extremely moderate, and by another secret, which was then peculiar to him, though it has since been discovered by many of his successors, he contrived to amass immense riches in that profession, in which others ruined themselves. It was to him that a victualler, who was threatened to be hanged, said; *You don't hang a man who has one hundred thousand livres * at the service of the General.* And accordingly the victualler was pardoned.

The King of Sardinia seemed to regret Villars, but in the main he was not sorry to get rid of a man who was incessantly stunning him with talking of his own capacity, and who, by opposing every thing he wished, thwarted his operations, the more effectually, as the French troops constituted the greatest number and the principal force of the combined army.

The Marquis de Coigny and Count Broglie, the two oldest Lieutenant Generals under Villars, divided the command between them, and were soon created Marshals of France. They were both lively, eager of fame, and rather lax in their discipline, which conciliated to them the affection of the soldiery; they were very fit for a *coup de main*, excellent Commanders *en second*, or at the head of a small corps, but incapable of comprehending the immense detail of a whole army: as for the rest, they were good patriots, and acted in concert for the benefit of the common cause. This was seen

* Upwards of four thousand pounds.

29 June,
1734.

at the battle of Parma, in which the Imperialists, commanded by Count Mercy, having attacked the Allied army, were worsted. The success, which was for a long time uncertain, the ardour of the enemy's troops, which had already thrown the French, whose valour began to be tired out, into confusion, gave occasion to their General to flatter himself with a complete victory, when he was killed. Whatever precautions were taken to conceal his death from his people, it soon got wind. Seized with consternation, they no longer pursued their attack with the same vigour. This moment of relaxation, or rather the spreading of the same information, gave fresh courage to the combined army; they returned with fury upon their conquerors, who being discouraged in their turn, opposed only a feeble resistance, and at length fled. They lost 8,000 men, and the field of battle. The Marshal de Coigny sent immediately his son, the Marquis of Coigny, to announce this victory to the King. The capture of Modena by the Marquis de Maillebois, was the consequence of it. The Prince of Wurtemberg, who had taken upon himself the command of the Imperialists, not daring to support this city, had retired; but, as a man of skill, he availed himself of a fault committed by Marshal Broglio, and soon gained a trifling advantage, which was in fact more flattering to his vanity than really of consequence to his cause. The armies had changed their position, and having each of them drawn nearer to Guastalla, a detachment of ten thousand Imperialists advanced upon the Secchia. The French General was solicited to strengthen a post within sight of the enemy, which he insisted
was

was guarded from insult by the very nature and disposition of the ground. He obstinately rejected the advice that was given him; and went to sleep with as much security as if he had been in his hotel at Paris. Scarce had he been asleep two hours, when he was suddenly awakened by a great noise of arms, and by the cries of the combatants. He rose in haste, and, putting on his cloaths in order to repair to the spot where the danger was pressing, he had not time to do it; the attack had been so unexpected, and so well concerted, that, after having forced a feeble detachment of fifty men who guarded the ford, the enemy crossed the river, went through his encampment, and penetrated as far as his tent. Broglio, in his shirt, and with his breeches in his hand, found himself happy to escape, and to abandon every thing. This little disgrace, the necessary consequence of his presumption and imprudence, gave rise for a few days to some jokes among the soldiers. But as his bravery was not called in question, his reputation did not suffer from it.

13 August.

The battle of Guastalla was the consequence of this check, which the Marshal was impatient to repair. The Imperialists, after having sustained the fight with uncommon valour during eight hours, were beaten, and obliged to retire precipitately on the other side of the Po, leaving their dead, their wounded, and the field of battle. This victory cost the conquerors very dear, because the two armies having attacked each other by distinct platoons, which incessantly succeeded each other, there were as many fights as there were corps that went up to the charge. Count Konigsegg, the Emperor's

19 Sept.

new

new General, notwithstanding his defeat, acquired much honour in this action. By his well-supported defence, he reduced his enemies, who were themselves very roughly handled, and oppressed with fatigue, to such a state, that they did not dare to pursue him, and were obliged to allow him to retreat unmolested. The army of the Allies lost 1,200 men, with several officers of distinction, particularly the Marquis de Pezé, Colonel of the King's regiment, and Major General, whose merit and military talents encouraged the highest expectations, and had already conciliated to him the esteem and friendship of his master.

It was at this action that another Officer of note*, leading his troop to the charge, had the misfortune to fall, and to be, for a considerable time, crushed under the feet of the men and horses that went over him. He was at length taken up, in a deplorable condition; which accident, however, by another series of miracles, was not attended with any bad consequence. He was one of the handsomest men that could be seen, but charged with being as fond of his person as a woman: this circumstance gave occasion to think, that, being in pain for his beauty, he had let himself fall voluntarily and dexterously into a ditch, preferring the almost inevitable danger of being killed, or taken prisoner, to that of having his person disfigured.

How great soever were the disasters of the Emperor in Lombardy, his affairs were still worse in the

* The Duke de la Tremoille, Colonel of the regiment of *Champagne*. This anecdote, which is found among *The Anecdotes of Persia*, has been confirmed to us by too many of the military men, present at the action, to be omitted.

kingdom of Naples. The Infant Don Carlos, with the Spanish army, had entered the country without meeting with any resistance. He penetrated as far as the capital, which opened it's gates to him. He obliged the Magistrates of the city to swear allegiance to the King his father, who soon transferred his rights to him. The young Prince then made his entrance, and received, in his own name; the homage of all the Orders of the State.

29 March,
1734.

30 May,

The Imperialists, to the number of nine or ten thousand men; commanded by General Visconti, had intrenched themselves at Bitonto, in la Peuille; the Spaniards forced them in their intrenchments, and put it out of their power, either to make head against them, or to stop their conquests. The Duke of Montemart, their General, acquired from hence the glorious surname of Bitonto.

The kingdom of Naples being entirely subdued, Don Carlos proceeded into Sicily: the inhabitants, preferring the Spanish government to that of the Germans, declared themselves for him, and favoured his enterprize. In less than a year, he made himself master of the whole country, so as to be enabled to detach a part of his army, to join the allies in Lombardy. Lewis XV. then considered him as already so firmly seated on the throne, that he acknowledged him as Sovereign of the two Sicilies, sent the Marquis de Puissieux Ambassador to this new King, and received the Prince de la Torella Caraccioli in the same quality from him.

2 July,
1735.

Thus it was that the Emperor lost two kingdoms, with a great part of Italy; for having procured one to the Elector of Saxony. He ran the risque of losing more, had he not hastened to conclude peace.

The English and the Dutch had already communicated in form at London, and at the Hague, to the Ministers of the belligerent Powers, a plan of general pacification, but it had not been approved of; it served, however, as the basis of the succeeding negotiations. Charles VI. only desirous of accelerating a business which he had so much at heart, and knowing by experience the slow proceedings of a Congress, proposed to Lewis XV. to send him M. Du Theil, First Clerk in the department for foreign affairs. He was sensible of the necessity of making some sacrifice, that the plan of the maritime Powers might be received, which France thought too partial, and which she rejected, because there was no indemnity proposed for Stanislaus. He contrived the means of prevailing upon the Sovereign of the dutchies of Lorraine and Bar, to give them up in exchange for the eventual succession of the grand dutchy of Tuscany. Every obstacle was then removed, and the preliminaries of peace were signed at Vienna.

3 October,
1735.

By these preliminaries, the father-in-law of Lewis XV. renounced the kingdom which he had already twice possessed. He preserved only the appellation of King of Poland, with all the honours and titles annexed to his rank. As a valuable indemnity, he received the States stipulated above, of which he was put into immediate possession, in consideration of some ready money, and a pension of four millions five hundred thousand livres*, granted to the Duke Francis, till Tuscany should fall in to him. It was France that incurred these expences, which were charged upon the reversion of the

* One hundred and eighty-seven thousand five hundred pounds.

dutchies

dutchies of Bar and Lorraine to the Crown. Upon these conditions, the Elector of Saxony remained in possession of the throne of his competitor, and of the grand dutchy of Lithuania, and the allies acknowledged his election. Don Carlos preserved the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the King of Sardinia a part of Lombardy. All the other possessions belonging to the Emperor in Italy, were restored to him, as well as the conquests made by the arms of France, in Germany. The dutchies of Parma and Placentia were moreover ceded to him.

What an extraordinary revolution was here effected in the politics of Europe; by this war, short, but important in it's consequences! Accustomed as this part of the world was, to behold the giving away and the exchange of kingdoms, yet this revolution could not fail of exciting astonishment. The two Sicilies, which had been taken and re-taken so many times before; which had been continually an object of the pretensions of the House of Austria; during more than two centuries; were acquired for ever by a Prince of the House of Bourbon. The reigning House of the Princes of Lorraine was transferred to that same Tuscany, which had already been granted by the Emperor to Don Carlos; the last Sovereign of which, who was still alive, did not acknowledge his State to be a fief of the Empire; and who, being near his end, asked if there were not a design of giving him a third heir, and what other child the Empire and France would beget for him. A King of Poland went into Lorraine; and an Elector of Saxony, illegally chosen, placed upon his head the crown of that Monarch, which was guaranteed to him by the son-in-law of the dethroned King. In a

word, the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, which, by right of blood, belonged to Don Carlos, son of Philip V. and of a Princess of Parma—which had always been claimed by the Holy See*, and for which the last Duke had paid homage to the Pope—were ceded to Charles VI. as his right; and he kept the Milanese, notwithstanding the general law of the fiefs of the Empire, which ordains, that the Chief, who is Lord Paramount, should always bestow the investiture of them; without which precaution, the Emperors might, in process of time, swallow up all the States dependent upon their supremacy. M. de Voltaire observes, that Trajan's medal might have been renewed upon this occasion: *Regna assignata. Kingdoms given away.*

But although these preliminaries repaired the greatest breach made in the crown of Spain, by the war for the succession, and by the peace of Utrecht, yet that Court was still dissatisfied; it was with regret that Spain saw herself deprived of the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, and of Tuscany, which she hoped to preserve. The King of Sardinia had reckoned upon a more extensive aggrandizement, and complained that his zeal and his services were so ill repaid; but these two Powers alone were unable to support the war against the Emperor, and were therefore obliged to submit. The Duke of Lorraine, on the contrary, acquiesced with joy in an ex-

* On the 1st of April 1723, the Pope had delivered into the hands of the magistrate of Cambray, through the ministry of the Abbé Rota, Auditor of his Nuncio in France, a protest against all that might be enacted at the Congress appointed in that city, to the prejudice of the rights of the Holy See, respecting the eventual investiture of the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, granted to the Infant Don Carlos.

change,

change, which insured his marriage with the Archduchess, the Emperor's eldest daughter, and with her the best succession in Europe, and the most extensive claims.

Such was the end of a war, from which the Emperor, reduced to the greatest extremities, extricated himself with as much dexterity as possible, at the expence of others—that is, of his future son-in-law, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany—for the personal sacrifices he made, could not, in fact, be deemed so, since he ceded only those States, of which the fate of arms had already deprived him. These cessions were moreover balanced by others, granted to him by the treaty, which gave him a firmer title than his pretended rights, that he could not have maintained, without trusting them again to the casual decision of arms. Besides, he received a complete indemnity, by one article, upon a matter which he had most at heart.

This Prince was fifty-one years old, and of a delicate constitution; the only children he had were daughters, and the advanced age of the Empress scarce allowed him to expect an increase of family. Since the year 1713, he had been endeavouring to procure the guarantee of the indivisible possession of his hereditary dominions to his eldest daughter, Maria-Theresa: he hoped by this to enable his future son-in-law to succeed him in the Empire; and he flattered himself, that this son-in-law, more fortunate than he had been, might bring him a grandson, in whom his family, almost extinct, might revive, and upon whose head would be transmitted the Imperial Crown, so long annexed to his House. This consideration had been of no inconsiderable weight in his

project of placing the Elector of Saxony, who had married one of his nieces, upon the throne of Poland; who, in return for this assistance, had signed the famous act of succession, intitled *The Carolina Pragmatic Sanction*. This was guaranteed by England, Holland, Russia, Denmark, and the States of the Empire; he made it one of the preliminary articles of the peace of 1735, when France acceded to it—a last political stroke, upon which he congratulated himself, as rendering his arrangements certain and incontestible in future. We shall see hereafter, that he was mistaking. Prince Eugene had seen better into matters, when he had told him, a little before his death, *that he ought to have two hundred thousand troops, and no guarantee.*

20 April,
1736.

The natural enemies of France, whose active jealousy had been restrained by the idea of the pacific and unambitious views of the King, even in carrying on the war, repented of their tranquillity. They saw the empire of France increased with two magnificent duchies, by the union of Lorraine with that kingdom—an union so often attempted in vain, and now irrecoverably completed in this contest, which arose merely from vanity, and a point of honour. Being convinced that Lewis XV. might attack the Emperor, without endangering the liberties of Europe, they had calmly beheld the rapid success of his arms; they had flattered themselves, as Italy was the principal seat of the war, that it would not last long, and that it could not but contribute, in the end, to weaken the power of France. They were undoubtedly deceived; but their speculations were founded on continued experience. It is the only Tramontane war which has terminated with solid advantages to France,

since the time of Charlemagne. Many causes concurred to produce this effect :—The French were in alliance with the guardian of the Alps, who is become the most powerful Prince in those regions. They were assisted with the best troops of Spain : while their enemy's forces, on the contrary, were composed of German soldiers, unused to the climate. The armies were always plentifully supplied, and the most perfect harmony subsisted between the Commanders. In a word, the war was short, and did not allow the French time to become enervated with the luxuries of Capua.

The Cardinal, besides, when he acquiesced in the wishes of his Royal Pupil, had in fact entertained no idea of any territorial acquisitions from this war ; he had been led into it merely for the glory of France, the humiliation of it's enemies, and the advantage of it's allies ; he was guided by events ; the Emperor, in some sort, made advances to him ; for he was even so moderate in his pretensions, that at first he had asked nothing but the reversion of the dutchy of Bar. It was the Minister for foreign affairs who urged him on, and inspired him with that energy which he would not otherwise have had.

The Dutch and the English reproached Sir Robert Walpole with having abandoned, upon this occasion, the House of Austria, the only Power upon the continent that was able to balance the influence of the House of Bourbon. He defended himself by producing the secret convention, the Cardinal had entered into, to keep the French navy in a low state, and to leave to the English the empire of the sea and of commerce ; an empire with which

the Minister would always be able to contain France, and to frustrate her projects of aggrandizement.

The preliminaries of peace of the 3d of October 1735, were therefore confirmed, without opposition, into a definitive treaty, which was signed at Vienna by the Marquis of Mirepoix, Ambassador and Plenipotentiary from France, with the Ministers of the Emperor, on the 19th of November 1738; and this year is considered as one of the most glorious epochs of the reign of Lewis XV.

He concluded an honourable peace with his enemy, which increased his empire, and gave some dominions to his relations and allies. A generous mediator in favour of a reconciled enemy, he laboured with zeal to deliver him from a cruel and unfortunate war with the Turks, through the Ministry of the Marquis de Ville-neuve, at the Port, and he succeeded *. He renewed an antient alliance with an amicable Power, that of Sweden; which engaged, on condition of a subsidy of 50,000 livres †, to conclude no treaty with any Power for ten years, without the consent of the King: a political stroke, necessary to secure a vigilant Argus in the North, ready to give the alarm upon the first disturbance. Protector of two Republics which he is fond of, he extinguished for ever some intestine commotions always reviving, and received the thanks of their deputies. At Genoa, he had endeavoured to subdue, as much by the voice of reason and of justice, as by force

10 Nov.
1738.

18 May.

24 May.

* This peace was concluded in 1739, in reality, at the instigation of the French Ambassador at Constantinople.

† Three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds.

of arms, some subjects said to be rebellious †, the Corsicans; of whom a certain Baron de Neuhoff, a German adventurer, who was a man of sagacity, ambitious, and enterprizing, had caused himself to be declared King, by the title of Theodore I ‖. He had had sufficient dexterity to engage a company of merchants in Holland to furnish him with succours of ammunition and money, and to support him in his sovereignty; but at his return, he found himself deprived of his crown, and concluded with wandering about in different countries, was thrown into prison, and died miserable.

Though engaged with such a variety of external objects, the Cardinal did not neglect the care of making the people happy. By a little finesse he had secured to himself the power of prolonging the tax of the tenth as long as he pleased, by inserting in the declaration which established this tax, that it would not cease 'till after the declaration of peace. He made no excessive abuse of this power; and if he did not remove it as soon as the preliminaries were signed, he at least put a stop to it before the destined period, and abolished it by a decree of Council two years and a half earlier. What a contrast to the conduct of his successors!

15 January.
1737.

Several useful laws, issued in different branches of administration, even in the time of the war or the negotiations, prove how much he was attentive to every thing.

To retrench the luxury of the officers, he issued an order from his Majesty, regulating the baggage they were to have at the army; a necessary precau-

15 Feb.
1734.

† This was the idea that had been given of them to France. We shall see hereafter whether it was just.

‖ See his life.

tion to facilitate the motion of troops, to diminish the general consumption, and to prevent the ruinous expences of the military men. This order, being renewed in our days by the Count de Saint Germain, shews how little the execution of these prudent arrangements had been attended to.

28 May
1733.

By another order, the dress, armour, and equipment of the cavalry, as well as the size of the horses, was regulated. The officers were enjoined to wear the cuirass, and the troopers the breast-plate.

2 Nov.
1734.

By a third ordinance, it was enacted, that all the English, Irish, and Scotch, residing in France, without employment, should enlist in some of his Majesty's Irish regiments, excepting those who were under eighteen, or above fifty years of age.

30 Jan.

In 1736, the Cardinal caused a declaration from the King to be registered, for the establishment of a court to try civil causes in the Parliament of Paris, for the purpose of expediting the business of the law. This court was to open on Candlemas day, and to close at the end of July. Lewis XIV. had established a similar one in 1669, and we have seen another created since, in 1775. It is an extraordinary assistance granted to pleaders, after great disturbances, when the interruption of the course of justice has suffered affairs to accumulate.

9 Feb.

Soon after this, a law was issued from the throne, concerning wills, the design of which, according to the terms of the preamble, was to confirm the authority of the antient laws, and to explain them with so much precision, that the uncertainty or variety of the maxims should in future be no more a matter of uneasiness to testators, of doubt in the Judges, or of ruinous actions between the parties.

Another law, of infinitely greater importance, was also

also promulgated, which settled the form in which the registers of baptisms, marriages, burials, and religious vows, were to be kept, and the extracts of them which were to be made to ascertain the state of the inhabitants.

9 April.

The next year an attempt was made to suppress fraudulent practices, and to remove all means of subterfuge by clear, distinct, and precise definitions of the *faux principal*, and the *faux incident**, by re-establishing the form and the rules for the acknowledgment of writings and signatures in criminal matters. Chicanery was pursued in all it's evasions and oblique inflections, by determining the cases, the mode of indictment, and the rules for judgment. Of the same kind were a number of ordinances destined to be the eternal laws of this empire, and to excite the admiration of Europe. Would to God, that the legislator, in whose name the law was made to speak with so much dignity, had learned to respect it himself; that, bending his own august person under it's authority, he had ever set the example of a submission, not less the duty of the Monarch than of the subject! But alas! even at this time, some abominable imitators of Sejanus, with which all Courts perpetually abound, were endeavouring to corrupt his heart, and to alter his uprightness; and the circumstance that will fix an indelible stain upon the memory of Cardinal Fleuri, is, that he was the first to yield to their impulse.

21 Dec.
1737.

It was known, how much the Cardinal was greedy of power; those men who can have no

* The *faux principal*, is when judgment is given upon a false testimony: the *faux incident*, is when all the formalities of law have not been observed in the proceedings; the omission of one of them changes the nature of the decision.

stability but in times of disorder and licentiousness, availed themselves of his foible in order to compass their ends. The Cardinal's mistress was the Princess of Carignan: that is to say, he was governed by her, he intrusted her with all the secrets of the State, and decided nothing but by her advice; for this is the only meaning of a word used at Court in this acceptation: the only meaning that can strike us, in the intercourse between a woman of forty-five, and an old man almost ninety years of age, in whom sensual gratifications can be nothing more than recollection. The pleasure of commanding the Minister, who held the Monarch in leading-strings, was therefore the only one the Princess enjoyed; but this influence held only by a slight attachment. The King, whose tenderness for his august companion, had been hitherto inviolable, had removed from himself those infamous seducers who had attempted to shake it. When the Courtiers artfully attempted to fix the King's eyes upon some enchanting object, he answered coolly: *I think the Queen still more beautiful* *. But he might at last grow disgusted of her; the number of children she had brought him, was likely to accelerate this fatal moment; and what a revolution was there not to be apprehended in such a circumstance? The best method of preventing it's consequences, was to bring it about designedly; and to raise to the bed of his Majesty some Syren of whom one might be sure; and who, satisfied with the enjoyment of her lover, would leave matters of politics and business to his Eminence. The Princess was

* It was to the Duke of Pecquigny, Captain Lieutenant of his Majesty's Guard, that this answer, as it is reported, was made.

made to understand this, she insinuated it to the Cardinal, and a plot was laid in consequence, which would have deceived virtue itself. The Queen's Confessor was gained over: this Devotee piously gave her Majesty to understand, that having now fulfilled the duties of her station, in giving an heir to the throne, and Princesses to be the edification of it, it would be a circumstance very agreeable to God, if in future she would practise the most excellent of all virtues, chastity, by weaning herself now and then from carnal pleasures, which were always calculated to bend our souls towards the earth, instead of raising them to heaven our real country. Undoubtedly, had Mary been of a different disposition, these counsels would have had a different effect; but all her senses were absorbed in devotion. One night, when her husband, heated with wine, had stolen, notwithstanding the impropriety of his situation, into the Queen's bed-chamber, the Queen gave way too easily to her disgust, and repulsed him with marks of aversion, humiliating to the young Monarch. He swore he would not receive twice a similar affront, and kept his word.

Then was the time for the corrupters to play their part; they had now nothing to overcome but his bashfulness, which was increased by a timidity that made an essential part of his character. The Countess de Mailly, Lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen, was judged to be the properest person for the execution of this project. She was as it were in a state of widowhood, without children; she was a woman of probity, and destitute of ambition; she also lived in friendship with the Countess

tefs of Toulouse, was incapable of taking an improper advantage of her situation, and of giving the least umbrage to the Cardinal ; she was moreover of a very fond and careſſing diſpoſition, and poſſeſſed the neceſſary talents for ſeducing the baſhful Monarch. She was neither young, nor handſome, nor even pretty ; was near thirty-five years old ; and had nothing remarkable in her face except a pair of large black eyes, well opened, and very lively ; her aſpect was naturally ſtern, but that being ſoftened in favour of the King, preſerved only a ſort of boldneſs, which indicated the warmth of her conſtitution. The harſh tone of her voice, together with her reſolute and wanton air, confirmed this circumſtance. Such a kind of perſon, in the preſent ſituation, was infinitely preferable to the graces, the majeſty, and the numerous allurements of many other beauties of the Court. Beſides, ſhe excelled them all in a talent which is a ſubſtitute for many charms, in the art of the toilet, which ſhe practiſed in the higheſt perfection, and in an exquisite taſte for dreſs, which her rivals in vain attempted to imitate. In a word, nature had amply indemnified her, for what ſhe had denied her in point of figure, by the qualities of the underſtanding and of the heart. She was amusing, lively, of an even temper, a firm friend, generous, compaſſionate, and ſeeking to do ſervice. Unfortunately, even in the height of her ſituation, ſhe was obliged to employ indirect means to gratify this benevolent diſpoſition, not being able to do any thing of herſelf, without the riſque of loſing her favour, the affections of the illuſtrious perſons to whom

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whom she owed it, and especially the support of the Cardinal, who had only preferred her to the office of acting a part merely passive.

When the conditions were settled, the Prime Minister commissioned the Duke de Richelieu to propose the Countess of Mailly to the King. This subtle and alluring Courtier had insinuated himself into the good graces of his Majesty, and gained his confidence. The Cardinal did not doubt but that, in changing the object of his talents, he might be employed with as much success in a negotiation of gallantry, as in one of politics. The favourite, in fact, availing himself of the familiarity in which Lewis XV. indulged him, artfully turned the conversation on the subject of the Queen, and upon the void, which the behaviour of her Majesty occasioned in his heart; he made him acknowledge the necessity of replacing that passion by another; he represented love to him as the comfort of all men, and particularly of great Princes, obliged to relax from the cares of empire. He thus determined the King to an interview with Madame de Mailly; but notwithstanding his youth, notwithstanding the ardour of his constitution, and notwithstanding the time that had elapsed since his rupture with the Queen, the interview was ineffectual *: timidity had frozen up his senses to such a degree, that the Countess, having

* See the *Loves of Zeckinifal, King of the Kofirans*, a work translated from the Arab of the traveller *Krinabbei*, one of those obscure and licentious books, which, however, we must not place too much confidence in, and which we never adopt, but when the facts agree with the more authentic manuscript we have under our inspection; or with the accounts of cotemporary Courtiers.

no hopes, complained of the little impression she had made upon him. She was with difficulty prevailed upon to a second interview : when she was desired to forget the Monarch, and think of nothing but the man. She was much encouraged by the young Prince's docility in returning to her ; and, being convinced by this step, that she had nothing to do but to attack, in order to triumph, she scrupled not to submit to the most abominable artifices of prostitution. Her manœuvres were the more successful, as the King's passions were more violent from restraint. The Countess, transported with her success, went out in the utmost disorder, and, presenting herself to her instigators, who were curious to know what had passed, said nothing more than : *For goodness sake, do but see what a fright this lewd fellow has made of me.*

The first step being got over, the King felt no longer any uneasy constraint ; he gave himself up without remorse to this double adultery. The interviews, however, were still carried on secretly for some time ; but he soon shook off this restraint, and made no longer a mystery of his conquest. It became a topic of conversation among the Courtiers ; the Queen herself was informed of it, and, instead of trying the ascendant she had always had over the King, to recal him to the nuptial bed, did nothing but pour forth her sorrows for his conduct at the foot of the altar. The Count de Mailly, who used to care very little for his wife before, thought proper to express his dissatisfaction at her infidelity. The only answer he received was, to prohibit him from having any farther intercourse with her. The Marquis de Nèlle, the favourite's father, of one of
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the most illustrious houses in the kingdom, thought proper also to censure her conduct. It was judged, that this was only a pretence to ask for money, of which he was much in want, on account of the disorder in his affairs; and some was given to him, to keep him quiet.

The person who was most embarrassed how to act, upon the first breaking out of the King's amours, was the Cardinal. In order to impose upon the nation, although he was the indirect encourager of the irregularities of his august pupil, yet he carried his hypocrisy so far as to venture to make remonstrances to him. *I have left to you the government of my kingdom*, answered his Majesty with acrimony, *and I desire you would leave me to be master of myself*. These words, however harshly they were spoken, filled him with joy. His emissaries, while they exculpated him, divulged the King's answer in all companies. It is not to be conceived how much the Parisians were scandalized with it. The people in general, and especially the French, love to change their situation, in hopes of bettering it. They had flattered themselves that a mistress would occasion some revolution: and perceiving that this mistress only confirmed the authority of the Prime Minister, those persons who had approved of the King's passion, no longer considered it in the same light. It was represented to the public, as an intercourse of a horrid nature, which would not fail to draw down the vengeance of Heaven upon the kingdom. Satirical verses were written, and licentious songs sung, in which the lover and his mistress were equally ill-treated.

It may be admitted as some kind of excuse for the lady who acted this part, for which she was by no means intended, and which, undoubtedly, she had now assumed for the first time; that her conduct, which would have been infamous and abominable in another, was dictated by the feelings of her heart;—that she was always more attached to the person of the King, than to his crown;—that she had a real affection for Lewis XV.;—that she never asked any favour, either for herself or for her relations;—that she was of no kind of burthen to the State;—that she retired from Court as poor as she had come into it;—that, after the example of Madamede la Valliere, when she was separated from her lover, she found none worthy to succeed him, and devoted herself to God;—and, in a word, that she expiated with tears, and continual mortifications, to the time of her death the crime of having defiled the nuptial bed.

Alas! long before that, while she was in the height of her prosperity, she found her punishment, even in her passion. She repented more than once of having taken from the King a salutary restraint: the Prince, who rather esteemed than loved her, being no longer withheld by any sense of shame, gave way to all his passions; and was not startled at the idea of incest. The favourite had a sister, Madame de Vintimille, who had been lately married. This lady, as tall as her eldest sister, had no advantage over her in person, except what she derived from her youth; but she had still a greater share of understanding, which she soon exercised in a plan for supplanting Madame de Mailly, and captivating the Monarch. All the persons who knew her, soon began to dread her influence. She was proud, forward,
envious,

envious, revengeful, fond of governing, and of making herself feared;—having few friends, and little calculated to acquire any;—thinking of nothing but her interest, and having no other view but to make the weakness of her slave subservient to her own advantage; in which she certainly would have succeeded, had not death prevented her, in the beginning of her career. She died in child-bed, not without suspicion of being poisoned. Her death, for a few days, drew tears from the King. Her sister, with whom his Majesty had always kept upon good terms, in order to carry on, through her means, their intercourse, which was still kept secret, blended her tears with the Monarch's upon this occasion, and did not less regret her rival. Madame de Vintimille left a son, who is at present Count du Luc, the exact picture of his Majesty, for whom the King had always a tender affection, and who was called at Court the half *Louis*, to perpetuate the memory of this anecdote.

Fortunately the King's sensibility, a passion which is generally extreme at his time of life, was already blunted and destroyed. He felt nothing more than that sensation of transient regret, which we feel at the death of our fellow-creatures, by a secret application we make of it to ourselves, as it reminds us of our own fatal destiny. Pleasures, interrupted for a time, resumed their ordinary course; hunting, and continual journies, which the King always stood in need of for exercise, and which became more necessary on the present occasion, soon effaced the memory of Madame de Vintimille. The former favourite resumed her influence; she accompanied the King every where, attended by Mademoiselle de Charolois and

THE PRIVATE LIFE

the Countess of Toulouse. These Ladies had contrived those delicate suppers, which were given in delicious retreats, accessible only to confidential persons, and therefore marked with the appellation of *petits appartemens*. Lewis XV. had built some in his several palaces; though they were not entirely separate from the public apartments, yet there was no other communication between them, but such as was absolutely necessary for the attendants. A private door, made into his Majesty's bed-chamber, furnished him the opportunity of retiring there, with any of the guests he thought proper. The persons employed in the construction, had exhausted their art, in the convenience of the arrangements, the elegance of the furniture, and the most studied refinements of luxury and gallantry. In order to give foreigners an idea of them, we shall transcribe the following allegorical description from the *Anecdotes of Persia*, and which the historian, to mislead his readers, says he has copied from some other work*.

“ It was a small temple, where nocturnal festivals
 “ were frequently celebrated in honour of Bacchus
 “ and Venus. *The Sophi* was the High Priest, and
 “ *Retima* High Priestess; the rest of the sacred
 “ troop was composed of amiable women and gallant Courtiers, worthy to be initiated in these mysteries. There, by a number of exquisite libations,
 “ and different incantations in honour of Bacchus,
 “ they endeavoured to make the Cytherean Goddess

* He pretends that this description is taken from the History of the different religions which have been introduced in Persia, since the conquest made of that kingdom by Alexander the Great, to the present time, by Kodgia.

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O F L E W I S X V.

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“ propitious, to whom some precious offerings were
“ likewise occasionally made. The libations con-
“ sisted of the choicest wines; and the most exqui-
“ site dainties were the victims. Oftentimes, and
“ that upon the most solemn days, these dainties
“ were prepared even by the hands of the High
“ Priest. Comus was the regulator of these feasts;
“ Momus presided: it was not allowed to any slave,
“ to presume to interrupt these august ceremonies,
“ nor to enter the internal part of the temple, till
“ the Priests and Priestesses, filled at length with
“ divine favours, fell down in an ecstasy, the com-
“ pleteness of which, testified the greatness of their
“ zeal, and announced the presence of the deities.
“ Then every thing was accomplished: these favou-
“ rites of the Gods were carried away with respect,
“ and the gates of the temple were shut. There
“ were certain days in the year consecrated entirely
“ to Bacchus, and the honours of which were equally
“ done by Comus. These, which one might call
“ the *petty festivals*, were the days upon which the
“ High Priest admitted *Sevagi*, *Fatima*, *Zelida*,
“ and some others, before whom, as being profane,
“ only the less mysteries were exhibited. In fact,
“ far from deserving to be of the number of fortu-
“ nate persons, to whom the more important and
“ essential functions of the worship were intrusted,
“ they were scarce worthy of the little that was com-
“ municated to them.”

From the details of this mysterious narrative,
where Lewis XV. is marked under the name of
Sopbi, and the favourite under that of *Retima*, a
narrative, the authenticity of which is attested by all
the Noblemen still living, who have partaken of these

feasts, we see that the *petits appartemens* were designed equally for the pleasures of love, as for those of the table. To the first, were only admitted such Courtiers as were sufficiently corrupt to be the companions of the Monarch's debaucheries, or mean enough to be the mere witnesses of them. The last included a more extensive and more decent company. The Count and Countess of Toulouse, with Mademoiselle de Charolois, stiled by the hieroglyphic writer, *Sevagi*, *Zelida*, and *Fatima*, were the principal persons who composed it. Every thing was then carried on with decency; wine was no farther indulged in than the better to encourage *bon mots*, and the sallies of wit, or to give a freer course to those malignant sarcasms, by which the Tremoilles, the Ayens, the Maurepas, the Coignys, and the Souvres, declared to the King, under the mask of frivolous mirth, useful truths, which were unfortunately thrown away. When the Princesses were withdrawn, or in their absence, these orgies became truly Bacchanalian; the Countess of Mailly, worthy to have been born half a century sooner, who loved champagne, had inspired the King with her taste. The challenges of former drinkers were renewed there: the victory was to him who could soonest put his antagonist under the table; and, after a long contest, it was necessary that some trusty servants should enter, to carry off all the guests, the conquerors as well as the conquered.

The memory of the Countess deserves reproach, for her having engaged her lover in these parties of intoxication, for which we are, however, inclined to think he had no aversion. We are more readily induced to this opinion, from another circumstance in
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this description ; which is, that Lewis XV. delighted much in cookery, and in tossing up little ragouts ; a mean kind of amusement, though not censurable in itself, yet at least very unsuitable, inasmuch as it discovered a mind little accustomed to furnish itself with those grand and sublime ideas which should be habitual to a Sovereign. And indeed, this was not the manner in which the Cardinal wished that the King should employ himself, and the favourite did no more than pursue the plan that was marked out for her. The time was not yet come, when the *petits appartemens* were to be the center of politics and negotiations ; yet the Court was not free from troubles and intrigues. It is now necessary to resume the thread of these intrigues, of which M. de Chauvelin was a remarkable victim.

This Minister, of an eminent family in the law, and possessed of the office of President à mortier in Parliament—in which he had distinguished himself—upon the disgrace of M. d'Armenonville, and the resignation of Count Morville, his son, succeeded them in both their employments. He had been intrusted at once with the Seals, and with the department for Foreign Affairs. He was by no means unequal to these two offices, and possessed all the qualities to fill them properly. His knowledge of the laws, of jurisprudence, and of the duties of a Magistrate ; his integrity, his firmness, and especially his long experience in Parliament, rendered him very fit to be at the head of the law : his penetrating genius, equally powerful, supple, and insinuating ; his deep study of mankind and of politics, his extensive views, his great designs, and the multiplicity of his correspondences, were admirably adapted to his or-

functions. He was, moreover, of an easy and pleasing access, engaging in conversation, perfectly versed in Court management, free from affectation, laborious, expeditious, and attentive to business, even to the sacrifice of some necessary part of his sleep. Such was this Gentleman, of highly-distinguished merit, and a character we seldom meet with; an accomplished Minister in all points, had he not been tainted with that fault, which is almost always the effect of great talents, an unbounded ambition.

Although the Cardinal, sensible of his own inferiority, granted him all his confidence; yet he grew impatient of acting only a second part, and of not being able to display the resources he felt within himself. Besides, being connected with the first Noblemen of the Court, living with them as their equal, and being well received by women of the first rank, and even by the Princesses, a powerful party was formed to protect and support him. This party was that of the Duke of Bourbon. His mother, the Dutchess, a proud, absolute, violent, vindictive, and turbulent woman, jealous of distinguishing herself, was the soul of it. Unfortunately, it was not the most powerful. The Rambouillet faction, to which the Duke of Orleans and the Duke du Maine were united, counterbalanced the former, or rather prevented it from breaking out. M. de Chauvelin was too wise to expose himself without appearance of success; he contented himself with preserving the good-will of his protectors, and disconcerting the projects of his enemies, which his constant vigilance enabled him to detect. He endeavoured likewise to make himself agreeable to every one; he refused nothing, but what it was impossible for him to grant,
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and then with such studied politeness, that the refusal was almost equal to the favour; he was kind to men of merit, and protected the fine arts, being zealous to make them flourish; he was loved and esteemed by foreigners, who always came from him not only satisfied, but charmed; he was feared by other Powers, whose cabinets he dived into by his artifices and intelligence. He had reason to flatter himself, that he should soon succeed to the place of Prime Minister, when he was involved in a disgrace which he had not been able to foresee. He was accused of having sacrificed the interests of the allies of France to those of the Emperor, in the treaty of Vienna, by not obliging that Prince to purchase peace upon infinitely harder terms, which his distressed condition would have forced him to accept. He was accused of having received money for this shameful collusion. The King, conducting himself upon this occasion as he hath always done since, as a private individual, and friend to the Cardinal, impeached, it is said, Chauvelin's conduct to him; and advised him to look narrowly into it. His Majesty gave the Cardinal to understand, he was well informed, that Chauvelin abused his confidence; but his protector, finding it difficult at his age to part from a person who was become so necessary to him, still defended him, and attributed the reports propagated against him to jealousy. At length the Cardinal was made acquainted with the intrigues carried on by the Keeper of the Seals, with the house of Condé; and this imputation was of an unpardonable nature. He was carried off, and conducted to a strong castle, as a State criminal, where he was suffered to speak to no one, nor to see any person,

person, even of his own family: a punishment too mild for a traitor to his King, and too severe for a meer suspicion. It is highly probable, that sufficient proofs could not be found against him; and that even the suspicion was only feigned, in order to furnish a pretence for his destruction; for his confinement was not long, and was changed to an ordinary banishment at Bourges, where he returned the visits that were paid to him, wrote and received letters. The Seals were restored for the third time to old d'Aguesseau; and M. Amelot, Intendant of Finances, was raised to the post of Secretary of State in the department for foreign affairs.

The new Minister, though sprung from a family well known in the political line, had never been initiated in its mysteries: his name was the only circumstance in his favour; he was totally unacquainted with negotiations: he had none of those shining qualities of his predecessor, to make amends for his ignorance. His address was even against him; for he stammered, which is an essential fault in a man destined to converse every day with the most accomplished persons in Europe. To aid him in the more delicate functions of his office, he had the happiness to find some excellent assistance among the first Clerks in his department, who had been long used to the detail of it, and were perfectly acquainted with the interests of France, and those of other kingdoms. These under Ministers, less an object of envy than their Chief, and so much the less exposed to revolutions, as great capacity is required to replace them—a capacity which in these matters can only be acquired by long experience—are the real Statesmen; their masters are removed, but they die
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in their places. A prudent Minister, therefore, who has access at Court, finds them necessary, and pays attention to them; but M. Amelot, proud, and jealous of his rank, as all weak men are, and who besides had a pique against M. Pecquet, one of these heads of office, because he had possessed, and with reason, all the confidence of M. Chauvelin, was bent upon his destruction. He accused him of holding a suspicious correspondence with the exiled Minister, and of avoiding to disclose to him the important secrets, of which he had the key. Without further inquiry, this Gentleman was taken up, and confined so strictly, that even his wife was not permitted to see him. Fortunately, this punishment did not hurt the person accused in the opinion of the public. His integrity was so universally acknowledged, that he was not even suspected of the slightest misdemeanour, and his disgrace was solely ascribed to the mean jealousy of the Minister; which rendered the latter odious to foreigners, and to the nation.

The Cardinal soon became sensible of the fault he had committed, in depriving himself of so able a second as M. de Chauvelin: he grew disgusted of affairs, and was tempted to resign the helm into other hands. The Count of Toulouse was the person he chose to replace him, or rather, who was suggested to him. Not that this Prince, naturally of an indolent disposition, was solicitous to take upon himself the government, at a time of life when that indolence of course increases, and when he was moreover in a weak state of health, and afflicted with the yet recent loss of his brother, the Duke du Maine; but he was determined to it by the solicitations of the

THE PRIVATE LIFE

the Prime Minister, of the young King, whom he tenderly loved, and especially by those of his Countess, and of all the persons connected with him, who were in hopes of rising through his favour. Measures were already taken to appoint him Prime Minister, at Rambouillet, where Lewis XV. was to go and pass part of the autumn with his Court, when death put an end to his career. Being cut a second time for the stone, he supported his sufferings during twenty-two days with heroic firmness. Before he expired, he called for the Duke de Penthièvre, his only son, and gave him the most excellent advice. He was universally regretted, as he deserved to be; the Countess of Toulouse was inconsolable.

Lewis XV. sent every day to inquire after his health, and all the people of consequence followed his example. At the most critical moment, La Peyronie came, and desired to be introduced to his Highness, notwithstanding the deplorable situation he was in. The Duke de Noailles, his brother-in-law, not doubting but that this visit would have a good effect, was desirous of apprising him of it, and told him, that, considering his weakness, he would go and receive the King's messenger for him. The dying man, recalling his fleeting soul, answered, that it was an honour which he ought to receive in person. The First Surgeon was introduced, and communicated to the Prince the anxiety of the Monarch. His Highness, with a presence of mind which astonished all those, who had seen him but the moment before fainting away, desired him to assure the King of his respect, his gratitude, and fidelity, and charged him to bear his affectionate compliments to the Cardinal, to whom he recommended, in a particular manner, his

1 Dec.
1737.

his wife and his son ; after this he fell again into his former state of languor. Such is the character of a Courtier, who does not cease to be one, but with his last breath.

This event disturbed all the projects of the King, and of the Minister. The latter thought no more of his plan of retirement ; but his competitors did not labour the less underhand to supplant him. It was this period that produced what was called *The war of the Myrmidons*, that is to say, a league of some young Noblemen of the Court with the Countess de Mailly ; the real intent of which has never been perfectly known, and of which they themselves were ignorant : a league excited probably by the Condé faction, in hopes of reinstating M. Chauvelin. The Duke d'Antin, who was of this party, though son of the Countess of Toulouse, was banished. Upon this occasion, the character of Lewis XV. displayed itself ; his weakness, his indifference, and his inattention to his most distinguished favourites, became apparent. The Duke de la Tremoille, Gentleman of the bed-chamber, and whom the King honoured with his intimacy, when he saw the plot discovered, intreated his Majesty not to mention him to his tutor, as having been concerned in it, for fear of exposing him to his resentment. The King promised him he would not ; and yet the first thing he did, was to break his word. The Duke received warm reproaches from his Eminence ; and, attempting to exculpate himself, was astonished when the Cardinal desired him no longer to deny a fact, which he had learnt from the mouth of his master. This Nobleman being then highly incensed, in the first conversation he had with his Majesty, declared to him, that as his subject and
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his servant, he would still fulfil that double duty ; but he begged of him, at the same time, to strike him out of the list of his intimates : he told him in express terms, that *he could no longer be his friend*. A noble and bold sentiment, which marked the philosophic character of this Nobleman, through all the apparent fineness of his manners. We the more readily recount this anecdote, as it may serve to retrieve his character, injured by the former. Every body acknowledges the Duke de la Tremoille to be a man of a great deal of wit : it is well known, that one of the most ingenious and agreeable pieces of humour that has appeared in our age, in form of a novel *, is attributed to him ; but few people know that he was a wise man. From that time he went no more to the *petits appartemens* : and, notwithstanding the advances made to him by Lewis XV. he remained inflexible, and confined himself strictly to the duties of Gentleman of the bed-chamber : nay further, at one of the balls given at the Dauphin's, in his infancy, to amuse, and accustom him to the exercise of dancing, this Nobleman who was present, and was a fine dancer, being pressed to exhibit before the heir apparent, complied ; and the clapping of hands had not ceased, when the King came in. He inquired the occasion, and was informed ; upon which he desired the Duke de la Tremoille to oblige him by beginning again. The Duke made his excuses, by saying he had hurt himself, and could not satisfy his Majesty.

* *Angola*, which the Chevalier de la Morliere took to himself ; but which many people maintain to have been found in manuscript, among the papers of the Duke de la Tremoille, after his death.

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The intrigue we have been speaking of, was the last effort against the power of the Cardinal, which he had to contend with. The rest of his administration passed away unclouded, and ended as peaceably as his long life. The more his Royal Pupil advanced in age, the more was he subject to him. Had it not been for the splendour of the throne, and the appearance, one would have taken him for the first subject of his Eminence ; who himself was governed by two men of very obscure condition. One of them was the Abbé Couturier, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpicius, who, without being professedly Confessor of the Prime Minister, had, upon the whole, the direction of his conscience, and, without having the disposal of the livings, was at the head of the department of all ecclesiastical affairs. This gross man, with no advantage of education, and under an air of stupidity, had possessed sufficient dexterity to manage the mind of his penitent, to make him supple, and to render himself, under him, the dispenser of all the favours of the Church. The Abbé, with his head buried in an enormous hat*, the flaps of which hung over his broad shoulders, a white band, and a coarse woollen cassock, had his antichamber filled with the first Noblemen of the kingdom. His house was become the nursery of all the Abbés aspiring to the prelacy ; and, as he was devoted to the Jesuits, he had made it the asylum of Molinism, with which it is still infected. The other man was Barjac, the Cardinal's valet de chambre, and consequently the minister of his pleasures, and

* Since that time the Abbés, who are *petits maîtres*, called the old ecclesiastics, who are bigotted to this custom, the great hats.

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the confidant of his troubles. He was thoroughly acquainted with the foibles of his master, and knew how to take advantage of, and to fall in with them in the most adroit manner. It was he, who, a short time before the death of this prelate, at 90 years of age, contrived the refined gallantry of making him sup, upon a Twelfth-night, with twelve guests of the Court, men and women, all older than himself; so that he, being the youngest, was obliged to draw the cake. With such delicate and well-supported adulation, Barjac could not fail of being highly in favour with his Eminence. He was the channel of all the domestic favours, and especially those of finance, part of which returned to him; so that he was immensely rich, at the death of his protector. Such were the two men, who, without any apparent character, were in the highest credit, since the disgrace of M. Chauvelin. Nevertheless, a spirit of equity and moderation induced the Cardinal to leave to each Secretary of State, the distribution of the employments in their several departments; but, as they themselves were dependent upon his Eminence, they had very great consideration for his favourites.

With regard to the King, confined to a circle of private occupations and amusements, the only essential duty of the Throne which he fulfilled, because he could not avoid it, was to assist at the important deliberations holden concerning the State. There he began to display that nice judgment, the excellency of which was not at that time so remarkable; because, the Council being composed of honest and experienced Ministers, his advice was in some measure lost among the rest; and because
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his modesty, hitherto commendable, made him pay a deference to the opinion of the Cardinal, whose age and natural ascendant exerted their influence over him; but this justness of understanding could not have escaped the Preceptor, which renders him inexcusable in the eyes of the nation. What happiness indeed would it have been for France, if he had cultivated so precious a faculty in his august Pupil; if he had spurred up his indolence with the great motives of duty and of the public good; and, in default of these, with the incitement of glory; and if accustoming him daily to labour, by habit, he had made it a mere amusement to him. But he attended to none of these things; the King's education was neglected: he had so benumbed the faculties of the young Prince, in the age of activity and energy, that enlightened persons foresaw, even at that time, with regret, the fatal consequences that would result from thence, during the whole course of his reign. The King gave himself up to the sanguinary exercises of the chase; he injured his health by the excesses of the table, and received libidinous lessons from Madame de Mailly. Not being able, however, to free himself entirely from that law, more or less imperious, for all men to be employed about something, he attended, as we have seen, to cookery, and was also a turner. Among the new-year's gifts of 1739, he had brought a sort of snuff-box into fashion, the model of which came from him. It was a piece of a tree covered with it's bark, and hollowed within, which a workman would have been ashamed to shew. He turned some of them, which he made a present of to his Courtiers,

who were all desirous of having them. He was also constantly asking a multitude of questions, the indications of a mind eager after instruction. Unfortunately, these questions were often frivolous, or relative to objects foreign to his situation as King. He used to talk much about Natural History, Astronomy, and Botany. When he was talking with any Prelate or Abbé, his discourse was upon Latin, or upon the Liturgy, of which he seemed well informed. This was the consequence of the education given him by his Preceptor, considering religion as a salutary restraint for Kings, but agreeably to the principles of his Order; that is to say, not as the means of opposing the attempts a Sovereign might make, against the quiet, the property, or the liberty of his subjects, but of preventing those he might make against the pretended rights, privileges, franchises, and immunities, of the church. He had inspired him with many sentiments of this kind, and had attached him more to the letter than to the spirit of religion. And indeed, Lewis XV. always observed exactly all its customs, and most trifling ceremonies. In the midst of his greatest debaucheries, he never failed saying his prayers morning and evening; he heard mass said regularly every day; he had a book of prayers from which he never removed his eyes, and the motion of his lips denoted that he articulated every word; he also attended at every office of divine worship. Full of veneration for the Ministers of religion, he would have them respected. He abhorred irreligious persons; and for that reason, notwithstanding all the adulation lavished upon him by Voltaire, the King could never bear him.

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It was undoubtedly this religious turn which in-
duced the young Sovereign to do two remarkable
acts of devotion in the period we are speaking of.
On the 1st of September 1736, he came to Saint
Denis, and assisted at the solemn service for
Lewis XIV. This is the only time that the King
ever paid this pious duty to the memory of his
great grandfather; a duty which the legitimate
Princes have never neglected. The General of the
Benedictines, who pronounced the harangue, did
not fail to announce to him, that, according to
God's promise, he would be rewarded with long
life and a flourishing reign. This prophecy, which
has not been more fortunate than that of the Czar,
shews that the Monk did not see better into futu-
ry than the heretical Prince.

in 1738, which was the hundredth year since the
vow of Lewis XIII. to which vow that Monarch
thought he owed the birth of Lewis XIV. the
great grandson of the latter ordered, that the an-
nual procession instituted at Paris, in the church of
Notre Dame, on the day of Assumption, should be
celebrated with more solemnity than usual, and by
a greater concourse of the three superior Courts, of
the Clergy, and of the Council.

1739.

The superstitious Monarch flattered himself, that
he should thus appease Heaven, and atone, by
acts of outward devotion, for his adulteries and in-
cests.

After the death of the Count of Toulouse,
Lewis XV. fond of adhering to his old customs,
continued to go to Rambouillet for two years, and
perhaps he would have continued for a longer time,
if the Abbé de Saluberri, the chief adviser of the

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Countess

1739. Countess of Toulouse, who guided her, and was absolute master of the house, had not, by his parsimonies towards his Majesty's attendants, disgusted the principal officers, who imperceptibly weaned the King from the house. Besides, he bought the Château de Choisy from the Duke de la Valliere, which became a favourite place, and he bestowed every attention upon it to make it fit for his reception.

Lewis XV. began by enlarging the building, which was not sufficiently roomy. Among other things worthy of admiration, there soon appeared a little apartment built underneath the King's, with which it communicated by a private stair-case. This was the apartment of the favourite. "The simplicity of it was heightened by beautiful sculpture, ornaments of gold and azure, furniture nicely adapted, and a multitude of brilliant mirrors advantageously disposed, all which contributed to give it a delightful and striking appearance. Art had exhausted itself there in conveniences, refined taste, and gallantry." These are the expressions of a cotemporary writer *, whom we have faithfully copied, in order to enable the reader, by comparison, to appreciate the progress of luxury in a few years. If the writer †, who is supposed to have been one of the most ingenious and most refined Courtiers attached to Lewis XV. was then seized with such a degree of astonishment, how much more surprized must he have been since, at the

* See the *Anecdotes of Persia*.

† The *Anecdotes of Persia* have been attributed to the Duke of Nivernois, but he has always denied them.

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1739.

However this may be, such was the palace de-
stined to screen the Monarch from the malignant
curiosity of the Courtiers, and especially from the
dangerous designs, or the indiscreet complaints of
the people. It was in this place, that his secret
parties with his mistress and his favourites were
made. He therefore gave up the direction of it to
one of these, the son of the Marshal Duke of
Coigny; he went there frequently, and neglected
the *petits appartemens* of Versailles, which were too
much exposed to the eyes of curiosity. Besides, the
situation of Choisy was infinitely agreeable. Placed
upon the banks of the Seine, and having a forest
in front, the rural solitude which one might always
enjoy there, every thing, in a word, conspired to flat-
ter the taste and pleasures of Lewis XV. who was
never tired of it, but, on the contrary, was inde-
fatigable in embellishing of it. He built what is
called *le petit château*, the most secret sanctuary
of his orgies, where we see that table, a prodigy of
mechanism, though since improved by the famous
Loriot, and which is the model of all those since
known under the title of *confidentes*: a table which de-
scends, and rises again, covered with fresh provisions:
and where we see likewise those officious *servantes* * as

* A kind of small tables, which the guests have by the side of
them, at different distances, upon which provisions and liquors
are placed. A pencil with some cards is placed upon them, in
order to write for what one wants.

1739. they are called, which were perpetually bringing up the most exquisite wines, that were drunk there in prodigious quantities. So that, while a tedious luxury was banishing from our festivals the joy and liberty of our ancestors, by surrounding us with a multitude of servants, who are our natural spies, the fashion of getting rid of these perpetual overlookers, by waiting upon one's self, was introducing itself at Court.

There was also a small but elegant theatre at Choisy. One day the comedy of *Esop at Court* was played there. The King thought this piece of Bourfault's a foolish and indecent one, and forbade it to be played in future before him. We must recollect, that in this comedy, the moral of which is excellent, there is a scene in which the Prince allows his Courtiers to tell him his faults. They all agree in lavishing the most fulsome praises upon him: one of them only reproaches him with being fond of wine, and of intoxicating himself; a dangerous vice in every man, but more so in a Sovereign. Madame de Mailly had accustomed the King to drink; and he thought that the Queen had ordered *Esop at Court* to be put upon the roll, on purpose to give him a lesson: he was much displeased, upon this occasion, with the Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and indicated by this, that he was afraid of hearing the truth; which is the ready way of having it for ever concealed from the throne. We shall observe, to the honour of Lewis XVI. that he has himself ordered this comedy, proscribed by his grandfather, to be acted; that he has found it admirable, full of good sense, and well adapted to Kings; and that

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that he has required it to be often played before him *. 1739.

The King was a good father, he loved his children with as much sincerity as private individuals do theirs; a circumstance rarely to be met with among Princes. It may readily be presumed, that in this light, he must have been more particularly attached to the Dauphin. He used to go to see him, and frequently had him brought to him. Persons who have any favour to ask, are generally clear-sighted upon the proper methods of applying for them. Some people ingeniously contrived to ask for them through this channel. One day Lewis XV. found in the apartment of the infant Prince the following indifferent lines :

If the King's Son, in pity to my Muse,
His most persuasive influence would use ;
To me, my former pension to restore,
Which is much wanted to increase my store ;
Then, like Arion, would my verse declare
My life is owen to a Dolphin's † care.

* This anecdote comes to us from the players themselves, who have hear'd the King say this. And indeed, *Eso* at Court has already been frequently acted at Versailles.

† Si le fils du Roi nôtre maître
Par son credit faisoit renaitre
En son entier ma pension ;
(Chose dont j'aurai grande envie)
Je chanterai comme Arion,
Un Dauphin || m'a sauvé la vie,

|| The reader may observe, that Dolphin a fish, and Dauphin the Prince, are spelt the same in French ; so that although the English translation gives the idea, it cannot give the pun. We may remark, by the way, that this mode of spelling the *Dauphin*, in English, is an improper refinement. It should be spelt as we spell the fish, for which we have likewise the authority of the editions of the *Classics*, in *sum Delphin*.

1739.

This petition had been presented by a poor officer, whose pension had been reduced. The King listened to it, and ordered it to be restored to him.

Another time, the unfortunate wife of a man imprisoned for debt, thought of asking for his liberty from the heir to the throne. The difficulty was to render her petition pleasing to him, and to make it sufficiently striking to his senses, that it should draw his attention at so tender an age. She encircled the paper with a garland of flowers, and had it displayed before his eyes in the Park of Versailles, while the Prince was taking his walk there: he took notice of the paper, and made signs for it to be brought to him. He turned it about on all sides, and at his return shewed it to his Majesty. The woman's contrivance pleased the King, and met with success.

Though it be customary to leave the Princes in the hands of the women till the age of seven years, yet the Dauphin's constitution and mind were sufficiently advanced for him to pass into the hands of the men before the usual time. No one can be ignorant of how great importance it is to chuse the persons who are to superintend the education, even of individuals. Of how much greater consequence is it then to chuse the preceptors of a child, on whom the fate of twenty millions of men is one day to depend? Lewis XV. does not seem to have acted in this circumstance with that degree of judgment which distinguishes true parental affection. The Count, since Duke of Chatillon, was appointed Governor; the Counts of Polastron and Muy Sub-Governors; the Bishop of Mirepoix Preceptor; the Abbé de Saint-Cyr Sub-Preceptor; and the Marquis of Puyguion, and the Chevalier de Créqui, Gentlemen *de la manche*.

20 Nov.
1735.

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Neither of these persons were men of so great emi- 1739.
nence as is requisite for such places, and many of
them had not the least share of merit. Far from
adopting the atrocious conjecture of some coteempo-
raries, who pretend that the Monarch did not wish
his son to become one day a greater King than him-
self, we shall endeavour to refute that opinion.
First, If he afterwards grew indifferent with respect to
the Dauphin, from the motives we shall hereafter
explain, he loved him affectionately at that time, and
such a kind of jealousy is inconsistent with the feel-
ings of nature. Secondly, Neither is this black and
deliberate dissimulation more the attendant of youth,
which is frank and inconsiderate. Thirdly, Lewis XV.
had he intended it, would not have been able, at
twenty-five years of age, to have made a choice so
deliberate, so nice, and so difficult. Fourthly, Is it
not more natural to suppose that the King left this,
as well as all other matters, to Cardinal Fleuri? It
is certain, and it is of little importance how this came
about, that the Jesuits had an evident influence in
this appointment; the unhappy consequences of
which, by giving rise to another event, not less fatal,
are felt to this day.

It is so much the more distressing, that the first
choice of the persons charged with the young Prince's
education should have fallen so improperly, as the
King conducted himself, in this particular, in the same
manner as with respect to the administration of his
kingdom; he always agreed to the arrangements of
those persons whom he had placed at the head of
affairs, and made the depositaries of his authority in
this branch. He allowed himself only to solicit
some favours for his son; but without insisting upon
them,

1739.

them, or taking it ill when it was frequently represented to him, that it would be improper to grant them. He took a pleasure in hearing him recount his little troubles: they proceeded chiefly from a haughtiness of character, which the knowledge of his rank had disclosed very early, from the external marks of respect, which are given to the children of Kings, by those who come near them, and from which even their Governors are not exempt. This kind of contradiction he could not, by any means, reconcile to his ideas; he could not conceive, that, amidst that attention and general subjection, there should be some persons who pretended to assume the tone of masters, who would prescribe laws to him, and would make a practice of thwarting his dearest inclinations. "Monsieur de Saint-Cyr," said he one day to the King, "is a man who will not hear reason." "I readily conceive," replied his Majesty, "that your reason and his do not perfectly agree together, but in time they may possibly draw nearer to each other, and be reconciled."

In this tone of friendship and confidence did the august Father speak to his Son. One could not flatter him more than in recounting to him some of his sallies. Cardinal Fleuri being present, one day at his dinner, took upon himself to give him a lesson of moderation, or rather of entire subjection, by representing to him his incapacity and dependent situation. For this purpose, he began by enumerating every thing that surrounded him, and at each article said: "this, Sir, is the King's; this comes from the King; nothing of all this belongs to you." The Dauphin heard the lesson with great impatience, and, not being able to contain himself
any

any longer, exclaimed with vivacity; "Well! let
 "all the rest be the King's, at least my heart and
 "my thoughts will be my own."

1739.

But if the King, sensible of the advantage of having a Dauphin, his only son, was remarkably attentive to him, from the importance of the character for which he was destined, we must allow that his paternal affections seem to have been still stronger for his daughters, and especially for the eldest. He was delighted to procure for her the expectancy of a Sovereignty, by marrying her to Don Philip, Infant of Spain. Such an expectation compensated his regret in parting from her. The nation took part in this event, inasmuch as it effaced every remainder of animosity for the sending back of the Infanta, and cemented more than ever the union between the two Courts. This marriage was celebrated with all possible pomp and splendour; with the most gallant festivals, the most magnificent representations; with triumphal arches, ornamented with devices and inscriptions, and with most sumptuous entertainments, which alternately succeeded each other: these diversions made for several days the amusement of the Court and of the city, and also excited the admiration of foreigners, who flocked there from all parts. The fireworks especially, exhibited on the bason of the Seine, between the Pont-neuf and the Pont-royal, produced, from the situation, a view which is still remembered, and of which there has been no example since. It will ever render memorable, in these sort of diversions, the name of Turgot, whose provostship was moreover signalized by monuments more useful and more durable.

16 Aug.
 1739.

1739.

The Princess was only thirteen years old; she was extremely amiable and exquisitely fair. To a charming softness of character, which gained all hearts, she joined a dignity which commanded respect. She was the delight of the Spaniards, as she had been of the French. The Infant was twenty years of age, and was by no means inferior to his august Princess, either in mental or bodily accomplishments.

Cardinal Fleuri was, perhaps, the only man in France who did not rejoice at seeing the union between the two Crowns more closely cemented. The reason was, he foresaw with grief, that it would engage France in a war, which was now inevitable, and which had been a long time fomenting, between Spain and England. Hitherto he had succeeded in preventing a total rupture between these two Powers. Ever since 1735, he had fortunately interposed the King's mediation between Spain and Portugal, which being urged on by England, and assisted by a formidable squadron, under the command of Admiral Norris, supported the Portuguese Ambassador, who had been guilty of a flagrant insult upon the dignity of the laws at Madrid*. The insolence with which this Commander had spoken, armed as he was, and had glossed over the partiality of his master, had inspired

* On the 22d of February 1735, the King of Spain caused the domestics of the Marquis of Belmonte, the Portuguese Ambassador, to be arrested in his hotel, complaining that they had publicly carried off a murderer from the hands of the soldiers and officers of justice, who were conducting him: that they had led him in triumph to the house of the Ambassador, had exposed him at the windows of the palace to the view of the assembled multitude, and had afterwards given him his liberty. The King of Portugal, by way of reprisals, caused the domestics of the Spanish Ambassador to be arrested at Lisbon.

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greater terror than confidence; he had rather in-
creased than extinguished the animosity of the
Spaniards, by publishing a declaration, that the pur-
port of his commission was merely to protect the
Brazil fleet, laden with considerable stores for the
subjects of his Britannic Majesty.

Commerce, which all nations began to make the
principal basis of their politics, was the cause of this
contest. Since the peace of Utrecht, the English
had obtained the exclusive privilege of furnishing the
Spanish Colonies with Negroes, upon the terms of
paying thirty-three piasters * per head to their go-
vernment. Upon this sale, rated at four thousand
eight hundred slaves, the eight hundred were ex-
empted from the tax.

The Company of Merchants, under the name of
the Asiento or South-Sea Company, which was ap-
pointed to supply them with necessaries, had more-
over the permission of sending a vessel every year to
Mexico. At first it was only to be of 500 tons; since
1717, it was agreed that it might be of 850, and we
may conceive it was an easy matter to defraud upon
this quantity. A pinnace, which followed the ship,
upon pretence of bringing her provisions, was con-
tinually going backwards and forwards, and filling
the ship with fresh merchandize as fast as the pinnace
was unloaded; so that the letter of the treaty was thus
adhered to, while the sense of it was eluded. The
Spanish Governors avenged themselves upon indi-
viduals for the wrongs of the Ministry. Hence arose
continual hostilities between the two nations in the
New World, cruelties and horrors at which humanity

* Five pounds, eighteen shillings, and two pence.

shudders;

1739. shudders; for nations seized with cupidity, are the same as individuals; they then lose all their magnanimity, all their equity: there is no enormity of which their avarice is not capable.

The guarda costas were ordered to prevent, by any measures whatever, the illegal trade of the English: they took several vessels, and ill-treated the crews. His Britannic Majesty demanded satisfaction for these oppressions, confiscations of ships, and other depredations exercised against his subjects: he was answered, that it was first his business to put a stop to the complaints which had been made to him in vain for so long a time. Negotiations lasted upwards of three years. At length the two crowns settled a convention at Pardo, on the 14th of January 1739, in which they made compensations to each other for their respective grievances: the blood of the subjects, slain in this quarrel, was taken no account of; only the King of Spain obliged himself to pay to the English 95,000 *l.* sterling, as an indemnity for the captures made by the Spaniards. This convention, notwithstanding it met with the approbation of the British Parliament, did not take place: the South-Sea Company complained of the agreement; the people rose against it, and it remained unexecuted. M. de Voltaire relates this fact in the following manner:

“ The master of a vessel, named Jenkins, came in
 “ 1739, and presented himself to the House of Commons: he was a plain downright man, who was
 “ said not to have carried on any illegal trade, but
 “ whose vessel had been met by a Spanish guarda
 “ costa, in an American latitude, where the Spanish
 “ will not suffer any English ships: the Spanish
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1739.

" Captain had seized upon Jenkins's vessel, put the
" crew in irons, slit the nose and cut off the ears of
" the commander: in this condition Jenkins pre-
" sented himself before the Parliament, and related
" his adventure in a manner consistent with the sim-
" plicity of his profession and character. Sir, said
" he to the Speaker, *after having been thus mutilated,*
" *I was threatened with death; I expected it, and re-*
" *commended my soul to God, and my vengeance to my*
" *country.* These words, spoken without affectation,
" excited a murmur of compassion and indignation
" in the assembly; the people of London wrote
" upon the Parliament door, *A free sea, or war.*"

Notwithstanding all Walpole's efforts, who was
almost as peaceful a Minister as Fleuri, he was
obliged to give way to the nation. The fanaticism
of war was carried to such a pitch, that a Member of
Parliament wrote the following rodomontade: *Where*
is the time when one of his Majesty's Ministers declared,
that no canon dared to be fired in Europe without the
leave of England? War in the mean time was only
commenced by degrees; the English, far from shew-
ing any inclination to fulfil the convention of Pardo,
sent a strong squadron to cruize on the coast of
Spain; while the latter neglected paying the indem-
nity, and continued to seize the English vessels. The
King of Great Britain authorised his subjects to ex-
ert themselves in reprisals against the Spaniards;
and gave letters of marque to merchants and priva-
teers. His Catholic Majesty published a similar pro-
clamation. At length, England was the first that
declared war in form. Spain followed the example.
The consequences soon broke out, and Admiral
Vernon took and rased Porto-Bello, the staple of
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21 July.

20 August.

28 Nov.

1 Dec.

1739. the treasures of the new world, and the spot which was the principal occasion of the quarrel. This was in some measure putting an end to it at the first onset. The conquest of this city opened to the English a free passage for that trade, which they had hitherto only been able to carry on clandestinely: and in fact, they considered the Admiral's expedition as one of the most important services he could render his country. The conqueror was thanked for it in an honourable letter from both Houses of Parliament. Hopes were entertained at London, that all Spanish America would soon fall into the hands of the English: it was thought that Admiral Vernon would carry every thing before him; and when he laid siege, a year after this, to Carthagena, and had possessed himself of the fort of Bocachica, one of the strongest parts of the city, the capture of it was celebrated in advance, by striking a medal, representing the port, with this legend: *Carthagena taken*. On the reverse, the Admiral was represented, with these words: *To the avenger of his country*. Precisely at the same time, the Admiral, after a month's labour, had been obliged to raise the siege, and to make his retreat, after having lost more than half his troops.

5 April,
1741.

1740. Cardinal Fleuri being still more solicitous for peace, in proportion as he drew nearer to his end, would fain have preserved it with England, and would have followed the system of neutrality, and apparent friendship to that Court, begun by the Regent, and continued by the Duke of Bourbon. He had hitherto exerted himself, to keep upon good terms with that Power, by making the greatest sacrifices; and though he had succeeded in this, by the neglect of the navy, he flattered himself that he

1740.

should not feel any effects from this neglect, and should preserve his ascendant in the Cabinet. At this period he became too late sensible of his error; he found that it is possible to elude for some time an imminent danger by the subtlety of negotiations; but that there is nothing so effectual, in keeping up a superiority, as to have real forces on foot. However this may be, notwithstanding the disadvantageous situation of things, policy, as well as consanguinity, required that we should not suffer Spain to be crushed by the English navy; against which the Spanish navy, combined with that of France, might, at least, make head. In fact, from the prudent dispositions of the Count de Maurepas, who was at the head of our navy, notwithstanding it's weakness, it checked the progress of it's rival, and obtained even some advantages in the beginning; till, destroyed at length, it expired in a manner at the action of Toulon; which, though less fatal in point of real damages, than that of la Hogue, occasioned a dispute with the Spanish navy, and was, as it were, the signal of all our succeeding losses. But before we enter into the interesting detail of these maritime facts, let us see how the Cardinal, already much concerned at this war, was drawn into another upon land, and died, leaving France plunged into calamities, from which he had been striving to preserve the kingdom, during the whole course of his Ministry.

The death of the Emperor Charles VI. which happened unexpectedly, was the cause of it. He was scarce fifty-five years old, and, notwithstanding the delicacy of his constitution, might hope to have time to complete the plan of the indivisibility of his suc-

1740.

cession, in the person of his eldest daughter, by appointing his son-in-law to be his successor in the empire. He had already begun to give hints of this design, and was employed in founding the dispositions of the Electors, and endeavouring to gain them over; when an indigestion suddenly destroyed this Monarch, and brought the Empire, with his beloved daughter, to the brink of ruin.

7 Nov.

From the first instant, the wishes of the people were united in favour of their new Sovereign; and this unanimity may be considered as the firmest support she ever had. She soon received the homage of the Austrian States, at Vienna. The provinces of Italy and Bohemia took their oaths of allegiance to her, by their deputies. She particularly reconciled the minds of the Hungarians in her favour, by submitting, as Voltaire observes*, to take the antient oath of King Andrew II. in the year 1222: *If I, or any one of my successors, should at any time wish to infringe your privileges, let it be permitted, by virtue of this promise, to you, and to your descendants, to defend yourselves, without incurring the stigma of rebellion.*

It was by a proceeding so equitable and so prudent, that this Princess gained the hearts of the Hunga-

* See his *History of the War of 1741.*

Upon this occasion we shall acknowledge, once for all, that we are not ashamed to adopt, when opportunity offers, the ideas, and even the expressions, of this great man, since we can neither think better, nor write so well, as he. As we have also been obliged frequently to compare his account with others, to examine into the want of veracity he is reproached with, we acknowledge that nothing can be more ill-founded than this censure; and that, if he should allow himself to alter the details of things, he observes the greatest exactness upon the substance of matters, which is the only truly essential point.

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rians. This people, who, as long as the House of Austria, inclined to despotism, was wishing to increase the yoke of it upon them, had endeavoured to shake it off, submitted to that of Maria Theresa; and, after a succession of seditions, animosities, and civil wars, during the course of two hundred years, proceeded at once to adoration, as soon as they had recovered from their King * the shadow of their liberty. The first act of Maria Theresa's administration, was to associate her husband, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to the government, under the title of *Co-Regent*, by a diploma, registered in all the tribunals of the archduchy of Austria, and successively in those of her other dominions. But, jealous of fulfilling the intentions of the Emperor her father, she lost nothing of her sovereignty, and made no infringement of the Pragmatic Sanction. Her design in investing her husband with these new honours, was not to draw any advantage for the government of her dominions, from a Prince whose incapacity, both in peace and war, she well knew, but to make him appear to the Electors more worthy of the Imperial Crown. She was deceived: she wanted money to seduce with; and her troops, dispersed throughout her vast dominions, could not be collected time enough to secure her authority.

The first claimant was the Elector of Bavaria. He caused a protest to be made at Vienna, by the Count of Perouse, his Minister, against the possession taken by the Archduchess: he pretended, that the renunciation of the Archduchess, his wife, ought not

* The Palatinates of Hungary always give the title of King to their Queen; and this one shewed that she was highly deserving of it.

1740. to prevent him from asserting his own personal rights to the succession to the dominions of the House of Austria, which were founded upon a will that had been made two centuries before. In this record of his last wishes, the Emperor Ferdinand I. whose eldest daughter had married Albert V. Duke of Bavaria, substituted to her the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, in default of heirs male. Philip V. as heir to Charles II. and representing in that quality the Spanish branch, also entered his opposition, and his protest for the preservation of his rights, and especially of the Grand Mastership of the Order of the Golden Fleece, belonging to the Kings of Spain, as the founders of it.

The King of Prussia, without amusing himself with making protests, and writing a manifesto, for the support of the rights he claimed upon Silesia, sent an army of thirty thousand men, which took possession of it. At the same time, he assured the Archduchess of his zeal for her interest in every other matter, and offered her his services in support of the Pragmatic Sanction, and to create the Grand Duke Emperor, if she would give up Silesia, or at least a part of that dutchy, to him. But the Queen, incensed, refused to purchase, by an act of weakness, and by dismembering her dominions, the protection of the most enterprising of all her enemies, till she had no other resource left. Troubles, in the mean time, were increasing—the Kings of Poland and Sardinia also put in their claims; and the Princes of the Empire refused to acknowledge the electoral suffrages of Bohemia in favour of a Princess. They even contested with her the power of transmitting to the Grand Duke a right, which they declared was
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not transferable, and could only be exercised by the person possessing the title that gives it. In a word, most of the Powers that had guaranteed the famous Pragmatic Sanction, were the first to infringe upon it, and to protest against it; and the prediction of Prince Eugene was realized.

1740.

The invasion of the King of Prussia was not concerted with France, as it was then imagined. The Marquis of Beauveau, sent by the King to Berlin, to congratulate the new Monarch *, did not know, when he saw the troops first in motion, whether they were destined against his country, or against Austria. His apprehensions were removed, when the Prince told him, on going away, *I believe I am going to play your game for you; if the aces turn up, we will divide.* It is true, that the beginning of this negotiation contributed much to make the Cardinal waver: he was apprehensive of losing his character of equity, and of bringing the King into the same predicament, by endeavouring to destroy the Pragmatic Sanction, so recently signed, and so authentically guaranteed: but he was surrounded with persons eager for war, who urged him on to it. It was said, *Cardinal Richelieu lowered the House of Austria; Cardinal Fleuri will, if possible, create a new one.* These words were purposely repeated to him, and his vanity was extremely piqued with them. Unfortunately, there happened to be an ambitious person at Court—the Count of Belleisle—a man of a great deal of understanding, full of knowledge, besides being an experienced warrior, equally fit to plan as to execute. This Noble-

* Frederic only ascended the throne upon the 31st of May 1740. He had immediately sent the Marquis of Camas to make known to the King his accession.

1740. man availed himself of the embarrassment his Eminence was in, to fix his resolutions. He communicated to him a great project, which consisted not only in procuring the Imperial Crown to the Elector of Bavaria, by gaining over some of the principal Electors, and by intimidating others; but which would also strike a fatal blow to the House of Austria, by taking away from it its most beautiful possessions, in order to make an establishment of them for the Emperor, protected by France, who was as yet too little powerful himself for so great a dignity. According to the Count's representations, the success was infallible, if there were a skilful negotiator at the Diet of Franckfort, perfectly well acquainted with the several characters of the Electors, capable of influencing them, and sufficiently versed in the affairs of Germany, to make them sensible, that France, by renouncing all her own pretensions, had no other view but to watch over the interests of the Germanic body, and to confirm their equilibrium, their liberty, and their repose.

These negotiations were undoubtedly to be supported effectually by a formidable army, which, being joined as an auxiliary to the Bavarian troops, would seize upon Austria, Bohemia, and the finest provinces of the Queen of Hungary; and would, at the same time, keep the partisans or allies of that Princess in awe upon that side.

It would also be necessary to march another, but less powerful army, into Westphalia, the design of which would be to support the Elector of Cologne, brother of the Emperor they wished to elect, to keep his neighbours in awe, and especially the King of England, who would be under apprehensions for his electorate

electorate of Hanover ; which the troops would be ready to enter into upon the first movement he should make. 1740.

The author of this plan insisted upon the necessity of securing the King of Prussia, whose recent irruption into Silesia was a diversion already begun, and capable of producing the most speedy and fortunate effects. The King of Spain, with his son Don Carlos, falling at the same time upon the Austrian dominions in Italy, it would be impossible but that a general peace must be the consequence of so many united exertions, in less than six months.

This word of *peace*, and of *approaching peace*, dexterously brought in at the end of the Count's plan, was a word too agreeable to the Cardinal not to seduce him. He saw an opportunity of avenging himself for the injurious reproach which he had felt so severely : far from reviving the House of Austria, he was now completing the grand work of it's humiliation, projected by Henry IV. begun by Richelieu, and pursued by Lewis XIV. More skilful than they, he was going to perform, in six months, what it had not been possible to execute in a century and a half ; and, to complete his felicity, he could do it without tarnishing his reputation.

There needed not so much to conquer the scruples of his Eminence ; he understood that the personal claim of the Emperor, by destroying the Pragmatic Sanction, necessarily annulled the guarantees. He recollected—that since the year 1737, he had given the Emperor to understand, that Lewis XV. by his guarantee, did not mean to prejudice the pretensions of his ally ; that in 1732, he had brought to the Emperor's mind, that when he made the states of

1741. the empire sign his act of indivisibility, he had himself formally declared, that he would not prejudice the rights of any one ; in a word, his Eminence discovered, that France ought to resolve to support the Elector, from a principle of gratitude towards his House, which had been at all times attached to that of Bourbon ; and that this gratitude was recently due to the father of the reigning Prince, who had lost his dominions in the war for the succession, a sacrifice for which the son demanded a recompence.

The Count of Belleisle was commissioned to draw out the plan ; it was finished, laid before the Council, and approved, in the course of a week. The contriver was not to be the person least benefited by it. Agreeably to his own hints, he was immediately appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the King at the Diet of Francfort, for the election of an Emperor ; and with all the Princes of the Empire. Soon after this, he was appointed Marshal of France, and likewise obtained the command of the army. He answered completely the idea he had given of himself as a negotiator : he began with striking awe into the Diet, by assuming an extraordinary degree of pomp and profusion *. He afterwards repaired to the King of Prussia's camp, and gained the favour of

* To give an idea of the expence of this embassy, it is sufficient to say, that two carriages, laden with provisions, were sent off every week to Francfort on the Maine, where they arrived in a few days, by means of relays disposed at several intervals upon the road ; this lasted near a year, while Marshal Belleisle resided in that capital. As the Germans are remarkably fond of the table, he had given the Cardinal to understand, that this luxury in eatables was the most essential way of pleasing and gaining them over.

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1741.

that Monarch, who was astonished with the diversity of his talents. He then went to Dresden, and influenced so strongly the King Elector, that that Prince set his troops in motion, even before there was a treaty signed. In a word, he negotiated throughout all Germany; and was the spirit of the Bavarian party. At his return to Francfort, he resembled more one of the first Electors, than an Ambassador of France. He enjoyed incredible honours; the Archbishop of Mentz, who presided at the election, gave him the right hand in his palace, and the Plenipotentiary, at his own house, gave the right hand to the Electors alone. He went before all the other Princes. His Plenipotentiary powers were transmitted, in the French language, to the German Chancery, which had hitherto required, that these pieces should be presented in Latin, as being the language of the Government which assumes the title of *Roman Empire*. In a word, he spoke and acted as the representative of a Monarch, who was going to bestow the Imperial Crown. Charles Albert was chosen on the 4th of January 1742, in the most peaceable and solemn manner. Thus the Marshal fulfilled the first part of his engagements; and if the second failed, we must do him the justice to say, that it was not through his fault.

He had always represented the military part of his plan as a *coup de main*, the success of which must depend upon its celerity, and for which neither men nor money were therefore to be spared. In his previous conversations with the Cardinal, he had not perhaps spoken so plainly, for fear of alarming him; he had perhaps disguised the number of men, and especially the number of millions to be sacrificed: but it is cer-

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tain, that in the plan reduced to writing, he entered into the minutest detail of the number of battalions and squadrons necessary. He proposed, that an army of fifty thousand French should pass the Rhine before the month of June, and march on to the Danube; and that there should be at least twenty thousand cavalry. He entered into all the details of the march, and of the subsistence of the troops, and repeated at every page, that it was better to do nothing than to do things by halves; that by failing to send sufficient forces at once, the enemy would have time to look about them, to defend, and to oppose themselves to conquests which would necessarily become more difficult.

Beside the fifty thousand French, M. de Belleisle supposed, that the future Emperor would at least have an army equally strong, joined to that of his allies; and, as all these troops were to be levied and maintained with the subsidies of France, it was nearly the same as if they had sent one hundred thousand men, exclusive of the forty thousand that were to be kept upon the Lower Rhine.

The Cardinal, whose views were too contracted for so vast a project, conducted himself with the Marshal, as would a parsimonious proprietor with regard to the plan of an elegant building that might be offered to him; and who, pleased with the beauty of the design, accepts it conditionally, with a secret intention of reducing the exaggerated expences; while, on the contrary, not to be deceived in his reckoning, he ought to suppose them still more considerable. His Eminence therefore, alarmed at the idea of one hundred and forty thousand men, reserved it to himself to make such retrenchments as his economical

1741.

turn might suggest to him. He declared to the Count, when he went away, that he would make no alteration in the army of observation; but that he would not raise the other army to more than forty thousand men.

In vain did the Count make the strongest remonstrances: in vain did he venture to say, that it would be hazarding the glory of the King, and the honour of the nation; he could obtain nothing. He was too far advanced to retreat; and was therefore obliged to follow his destiny, foreseeing with regret that he should fail. He did not, however, give himself up, but resolved to compensate for the succours denied him, by the resources of his understanding, and by his intrigues. He felt himself so much the more compelled to exert all his powers, as he knew that the blame would fall intirely upon him, in case the business should have an unfortunate issue. One event, which at any rate could not be distant, might possibly remove his embarrassment. The Cardinal would most probably die before the end of the new war; and he might perhaps find it more easy to succeed with another Minister; or at least he might then disclose the parsimony of the former, and impute the ill success to his false and pitiful policy.

The Count took care not to communicate his regrets and his fears to the Elector of Bavaria: on the contrary, as an artful negotiator, he spoke in high terms of the powerful succours sent him by the King of France. He represented to him that flourishing army of which he was going to be Generalissimo*.

* The Elector of Bavaria was created Generalissimo of the King of France's troops, by letters patent, signed the 20th of August 1741.

upon

1741.

upon the point of being increased with other troops as they might be wanted. In the height of his enthusiasm, he considered these accessary troops as useless; he doubted not but that in the course of this campaign, the kingdoms of Austria and Bohemia would be seized upon: he described to him the Queen, his competitor, obliged to fly, and seek refuge in her Hungarian dominions. By such insinuations he laid down to the Emperor the plan of his operations. It is imagined, that if these operations had been exactly pursued, they might have been sufficient, notwithstanding the debility of the means employed.

The first fault was, not to begin by seizing upon Vienna, where terror had already prevailed, and from whence the Imperial family had removed. This was the advice of the Marshal, contrary to the approbation of the King of Prussia. The fears of the enemy are always to be the rule of our conduct.

The second fault was, that the Elector shut himself up in Bohemia, where he was dazzled by some imaginary successes. He had it at heart to begin by causing himself to be elected and crowned King there. In order to deceive even the French, whom he commanded, he seized upon some small frontier towns; but, after having received the homage and oaths of allegiance of the Austrian states—satisfied with having deceived the Court of Vienna, with having induced them to collect all their forces in the environs of that city, and obliged them to withdraw the army of the Count de Neipperg from Silesia, and disengage the King of Prussia from it—he left the Marquis of Ségur and the Marquis of Minutzi at Lintz, with a body of ten thousand men only to protect the arch-dutchy.

1741.

dutchy. He crossed the Danube hastily with his troops, and marched into Bohemia, in contempt of Marshal Broglio's remonstrances, who presaged to him in vain the dangerous consequences of this conduct. That General had been sent to him to replace Marshal Belleisle, whose presence being necessary at the Diet of Francfort, it was impossible for him to command the army at the same time. Marshal Broglio was obliged to submit: the army was divided into several columns, and the place of rendezvous was under the walls of Prague. The enterprize was brilliant; the French and Bavarians met within three leagues of the city on the 23d of November; on the 25th the trenches were opened, and on the 26th the city was taken by assault, in face of the Grand Duke; who, having taken upon him the command of Count Neiperg's army, had hastened to the relief of Prague, without being able to make any effort for the defence of that capital. It was at this siege that Count Saxe, since become so famous, signalized himself for the first time. Natural brother to the King of Poland, his reputation had caused him to be unanimously elected Duke of Courland; but Russia having taken from him a title bestowed by the suffrages of a whole people, he consoled himself in the service of Lewis XV. who was much attached to him. He laid the plan of taking the town by escalade, by beginning four attacks at once, of which only one was to be real. He participated the glory of the execution with the Counts Polastron and Broglio, and M. de Chevert—the first person who entered Prague—and likewise with those who acted under their orders, as well as with the Saxons, who had also come to assist at the siege, under the command

1741. mand of Count Rudowski. A still greater action, undoubtedly, of Count Saxe, upon this occasion, was, that in the midst of this tumult, he preserved the city from plunder. The conquerors were all confounded with each other, for three days, without there having been one drop of blood spilt. French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, without knowing each other, seemed to make but one nation. In this intoxication of general joy, and in the midst of the acclamations of the inhabitants, happy at having escaped from the cruel calamities of war, Charles was crowned King of Bohemia: the prelude to that more august festival which awaited him at Francfort.

Marshal Belleisle came to inform him, that the Ministers of the Electors had opened their conferences, that they continued them assiduously, and that it was time for him to appear. What a glorious circumstance for Lewis XV. to see this Elector of Bavaria, this Elector-King of Bohemia, this future Emperor, give an account to him of his success, as a General would to his Sovereign! The French Ambassador, who piqued himself upon his skill in political, as well as military matters, before he returned to the Diet, wished to establish a regularity among the troops at this conquest, capable of conciliating their minds to their new master. He published upon this point an order of the 14th of December, which may serve as a model.

While Charles VII. was ascending to the summit of greatness, his competitor, humbled, without being depressed, was assembling the four orders of the state at Presbourg. She appeared at the meeting with her eldest son, still at the breast, in her arms: she raised him up to the view of the assembly; and had him

1741.

him conveyed from rank to rank: *I remit into your hands, said she, the daughter and the son of your Kings, who expect their safety from you.* All the Hungarian Palatines, at once affected and animated, drew their sabres, and exclaimed: *Moriemur pro Rege nostro Maria-Theresa!* *We will die for our King Maria-Theresa.* The circumstance which rendered this scene, if possible, still more affecting, was, that the Queen was with child again. It was not long before, that she had written to the Dutchess of Lorraine, her mother-in-law; *I know not at present, whether I shall have a city remaining, where I may lie in.* In fact, by the treaty of offensive alliance, concluded between her competitor, France, and Spain, to which the Kings of Prussia, Poland, and Sardinia had acceded—being abandoned by her friends, persecuted by her enemies, and attacked by her nearest relations—she had no resource left, but in the fidelity, perseverance, and courage of her subjects. Russia was engaged with her own intestine commotions*, and with the movements

18 May.

* On the 16th of October 1740, the Czarina appointed for her successor to the throne of Russia, in presence of all the Grandees of the state, the Prince John of Brunswick Bevern, born in the month of August preceding. She gave him the title of Grand Duke of Russia, and the next day, apprehending the consequences of the gout, which was got up into her chest, she caused the oaths of allegiance to be taken to this child, by the Senate, by the Ministers, by the Generals and principal officers of the Tribunals; and settled Count Biron, Duke of Courland, as Regent during the minority. These arrangements being made, she died ten days after. The young Prince John was proclaimed Czar of Muscovy, and the Duke of Courland entered upon the functions of the Regency, which was conferred upon him. But his authority being a disgrace to the Duke and Dutchess of Bevern, father and mother of the Czar, to whom the Regency seemed more properly to belong, he was deprived of it on the 20th of November, arrested,

1741. movements of the Swedes *; and the French army of observation, sent into Westphalia, under the command of Marshal Maillebois, was employed in keeping the Electors of Hanover, Treves, and Mentz, and the States General, in awe. The Elector of Hanover even, though recently connected with the Queen of Hungary by the treaty of Hanover—and though he was at the head of thirty thousand Hanoverians, Hessians, and Danes—was obliged to conclude a separate treaty of strict neutrality with France. The

arrested, and shut up in a castle, by the orders of his pupil, or rather, of the Duke and Dutchess of Bevern, who afterwards caused the Regency to be transferred to them.

On the 6th of December 1741, the Princess Elizabeth Petrowna, daughter of the Czar Peter, ascended the throne of Russia, by a revolution as sudden as it was extraordinary. This Princess, excited by her courage alone, and conducted only by seven grenadiers of the regiment of Guards, which she had secured in her interest, went at midnight to the barracks of this regiment, where she found a hundred and fifty men more, to whom she made known, in a few words, her rights, and the present misfortunes of the state. She determined them in her favour, returned with this little escort to the palace, and caused the young Czar, with the Prince and Princess of Brunswick Bevern, the Counts of Munich and d'Osterman, and all his other Ministers and adherents, to be arrested in the course of the night. The next day she was acknowledged Czarina, and Empress of Russia, by the Orders of the state, without having spilt one single drop of blood.

* On the 4th of August 1741, the King of Sweden caused a declaration of war to be proclaimed at Stockholm against Russia, the motives of which were several infractions of the treaty of Neustadt. In consequence of this, a Swedish fleet was sent immediately to block up the port of Petersburg, while an army was marched into the frontiers. It may readily be conceived that this war was the result of a secret convention with France, which furnished the subsidies, and had concluded, on the 25th of April preceding, a treaty of commerce and navigation with Sweden, by which it was enacted, that the respective subjects of their reciprocal dominions should enjoy the same rights and privileges as their own proper subjects.

English

1741.

English alone, who never wait for the sentiments of their rulers to adopt one themselves, openly assisted this unfortunate Princess with money; and the Dutch privately did the same. Till she was enabled to collect her troops, and repel force by force, which is the *ultima ratio* of Kings, she distributed manifestos, in which she exposed, that her hereditary rights were the rights of nature, confirmed by an authentic law, received by all the Princes of the Empire, under the guarantee of all the Sovereigns of Europe. She refuted the pretensions of the Elector of Bavaria, who maintained, that the Queen's parents were nothing more than tenants, holding the throne from their ancestors, upon condition of reversion; that they could not dispose, in favour of the Princess, of a property that did not belong to them; a property which was devolved to him by the death of Charles VI. without heirs male. She objected particularly against the words heirs male; accusing her adversary of misrepresentation, inasmuch as the original words were these: *in case there should be no legitimate heirs*. She concluded, from the arrangement announced in these terms, that her right was to be preferred to any other, as being the eldest daughter of the last surviving male; and, moreover, as it was always understood, that when women are not specifically excluded from the succession, they are comprehended under the title of *legitimate descendants*.

The manifestos of a Sovereign are like the memorials of pleaders, which are good for nothing, but to inform or amuse the public; and are never read by the Judges. The other Sovereigns, influenced by their political interests, usually determine how they shall act, before these manifestos appear. The Queen of Hungary, indeed, had very little re-

1741.

liance upon them, and took care to accompany them with formidable armies, as soon as she could collect her troops, and pay them with the money of her allies. Then it was that the face of affairs began to change. Fortune, which had at first been favourable to the new Emperor, became adverse to him in Austria, and even in Bavaria. Count Ségur was not only unable to secure the conquests made in that principality, but, finding himself too weak to keep the field against Count Kevenhuller, the Queen of Hungary's General, retreated under Lintz, a pretty strong town, situated on the Danube, by means of which he hoped to procure some convoys. The communication was intercepted, and in a few days he was reduced to want provisions. Marshal Belleisle had long before predicted this disaster.

Troops are left, said he, in Upper Austria, which will infallibly be cut off. He wrote to M. de Breteuil, then Secretary of State in the war department, on the 7th of December 1741, in the following terms: "I will not give up my opinion on this important point. I can assure you, that the misfortune which I foresee will happen. The first source of our evils will be, in the mixture of nations, and the dispersion of the troops."

1742.

3 March.

The Marshal was sick at Frankfort, when he received the news that the King had erected his estate of Gisors into a duchy, as a reward for his attentions, his labours, and his good counsels. He was at the same time declared a Prince of the Empire by Charles VII. So many favours indemnified this ambitious man for the failure of his project, the success of which was now declining. The Grand Duke arrived in person before Lintz, and summoned the French to surrender themselves prisoners. Upon

1742.

Upon their refusal, he caused his troops to enter torch in hand, and burnt a part of his own town, in order to bury his enemies in it's ruins. Lieutenant General M. Duchatel was sent to him; and he insisted again upon shameful terms of capitulation: *Well*, said that officer to him, *do you begin to burn, and we'll begin to fire again.* The Prince was softened, and granted the honours of war to the garrison, upon condition that they should not serve for a twelvemonth. It seems, people's wishes were, that Count Ségur, more celebrated for his figure than his capacity, had preferred the forcing of his way through the enemy, sword in hand, at the head of his little army. It is certain, that his surrender did him no honour among the military. It is said, that he justified himself upon an order in writing from the Cardinal; which was thought to be very probable, on account of the favourable reception he met with from the King, who employed him soon after. The fault, of which he could not clear himself, was, his not having had the foresight to specify in the capitulation, by what road the troops should retreat; so that he was compelled to undergo a long and laborious march, in which most of his soldiers perished from their being refused subsistence.

Austria was soon re-conquered; and the capture of Scharding, which Marshal Törring attempted in vain to retake, and where he even received a considerable check, opened Bavaria to the enemy, and was the cause of all the misfortunes of that Electorate. Colonel Steins penetrated into it by the Tyrol, and the city of Munich surrendered to a simple partizan named Mentzel, accompanied only with five thousand men. This savage not only plundered

23 Feb;

1742.

ed the houses of the inhabitants and the Sovereign's palace, but exercised unheard-of cruelties. We shudder with indignation, while we call to mind his horrible treatment of a brave citizen, who merited the highest distinction. A rich merchant, seeing the enemy ready to force a bridge which communicated with the city, caused it to be cut down with all possible dispatch, and incommoded the besiegers much from his house facing the bridge, where he had assembled a small chosen band. After the reduction of the city, Mentzel hanged up, at the foot of the same bridge, this second Cocles, whose memorable name we regret that tradition hath not transmitted to us. The rest of Bavaria, after the conquest of the capital, remained a prey to the extortions and enormities of the conqueror. Thus, while the Elector was acquiring an ideal crown, he was losing his own dominions; he was confined in Francfort, where the French Ambassador was greater than he.

Affairs, which were in a better state in Bohemia, soon became very desperate. Two battles † gained by the Allies, could not prevail against the misunderstanding between the Generals. This circumstance undoubtedly occasioned the defection of the King of Prussia, the origin of all the other disasters. The Queen of Hungary had been sensible of the necessity of getting rid of an enemy so formidable, from his vicinity, his youth, his activity, his valour, his prudence, and from the combination of the several qualities that constitute the General,

† The battle of Czaflaw, gained by the King of Prussia, on the 17th of May 1742; and that of Sahay, given on the 25th to Prince Lobkowitz, by the Marshals Breglio and Belleisle, who came off conquerors.

1742.

the Politician, and the Statesman. She resolved to give up to him what he had conquered; she therefore made proposals to him, convinced that by this sacrifice she might preserve the rest of her dominions, and perhaps revenge herself for her losses upon the rest of her enemies. The King of Prussia, on his part, was perfectly satisfied with obtaining by treaty the fruits of two campaigns, which he might have lost again by the fate of arms, and he had no hopes of gaining any further acquisitions. He foresaw, that the burden of the war would in a short time fall entirely upon him. The Emperor's troops, which were commanded by bad Generals, and were feeble in themselves, were subsisted only by the money of France, and would necessarily disperse whenever that should fail; which it must soon do. The Saxons had given no proofs of great bravery, and had been of no use. When the first fire of the French was once extinguished, it was to be apprehended that their army, being at a distance from home, would grow disheartened, would dwindle for want of recruits, would disband itself, or perish for want. Prudence required him to prevent all these misfortunes, and even to affect a moderation which is always becoming to conquerors, and to aggrandize his dominions while he spared the blood of his subjects. He was not restrained by his engagements with his allies; he had begun the war singly, and had made his conquests himself; he therefore thought himself intitled to secure them: he considered himself as having done enough for his allies, in having assisted their several invasions by the powerful diversions he had made.

The negotiations could not be carried on so secretly

1742.

cretly but that something of them must transpire. Marshal Broglio had even apprized his Court of them, and sent them word several times, that they ought to have no reliance upon the King of Prussia, who had nothing but his own interest in view: that 'ere long he would be seen taking the part of the Queen of Hungary, or at least making peace with her, regardless of France and her allies. The letters of this General obtained the less credit at Versailles, because Marshal Belleisle—who, notwithstanding all his sagacity and understanding, suffered himself to be amused by the King, whom he frequently visited—wrote to the contrary. The fact is, that this Marshal, who had a great share of vanity, was misled by the encomiums of a hero, who was so good a judge. Frederic, on the contrary, was mistrustful of Marshal Broglio, who had seen through him from the first. After his victory at Czaślaw, the King had sent to him rather a haughty letter, to which was the following postscript, written with his own hand: “I have acquitted myself towards my allies, for my troops have just obtained a complete victory. It is your business to avail yourself of it immediately, otherwise you may have something to answer for to your allies.”

June. Marshal Belleisle, alarmed at this letter to Marshal Broglio, repaired to the King of Prussia in his camp, to persuade him to be firm in their cause. His Majesty answered him: “I give you notice, that Prince Charles is advancing upon Marshal Broglio, and that if he does not avail himself of the advantage I have had over the Prince, I will make my own peace.” He knew well, that without his assistance, it was impossible to profit by this
this

1742.

this advantage; and that the French army, weakened by diseases and want, scarce fifteen thousand men strong, far from attacking, was not even in a condition to keep head against the united troops of Prince Charles and Lobkowitz, amounting to more than sixty thousand men. It therefore became necessary to call in speedily the most distant posts, the communication with which was not even very easy. The intention of this had been to cover a greater quantity of land at once, and by these several points, to keep the whole of the conquered country in awe. Marshal Broglio had opposed this manœuvre, and a disposition so ill-contrived was attributed to the Elector of Bavaria, or rather to the counsels of Marshal Belleisle, whose genius for tactics was found deficient upon this occasion. All that could be done, was, with some difficulty to collect two or three corps, and endeavour to join as soon as possible; but there was no time for this. Messieurs d'Aubigné and de Boufflers, posted in front upon the Moldaw, were forced in their quarters and only reached the army in confusion. Marshal Broglio, in this critical moment, concealed his apprehensions, shewed a firm countenance to his soldiers, divided his little army into three parcels, and, while the brigades of *Navarre* and *Anjou* were bravely resisting a multitude of Croats and Hungarians, he crossed the rivulet of *Blanitz*, ranged his troops in order of battle on the other side, and waited with a good countenance for the enemy, who were stricken with astonishment at so bold a manœuvre. The enemy stopped on the borders of the rivulet, not daring to cross it. In the night,

6 June.



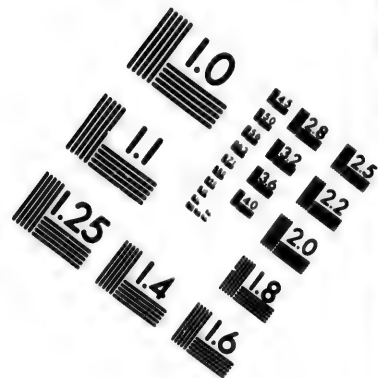
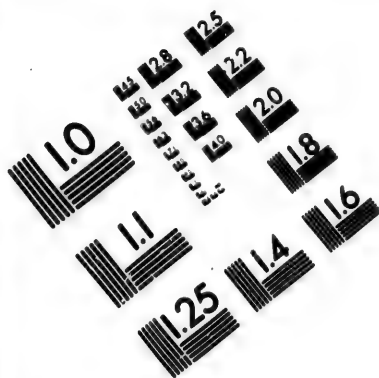
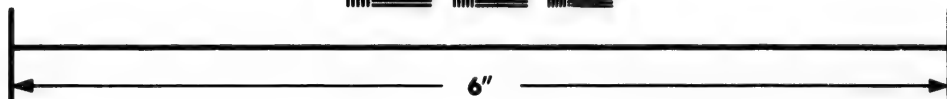
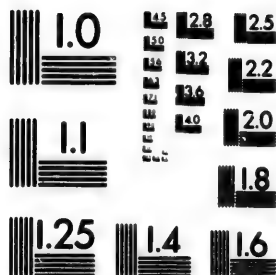


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1742. the Marshal moved off, stole a march, and arrived without any check under the cannon of Prague, the rendezvous of the succours he expected.

A retreat so excellent, and so bold, deserved, undoubtedly, the applause of the King of Prussia; he was too skilful not to be sensible of it's merit; but after all, it was only a retreat, and that was the very reverse of what he required. It announced the inability of the French to attack, and even to maintain their conquests, if that ally should fail them. The only method of keeping him attached to the cause, would have been to be strong enough to do without him, to have the hundred thousand men demanded by Marshal Belleisle, and to keep him in awe by this great superiority. The œconomy of Cardinal Fleuri rendered fruitless all the expences that had been incurred to place Charles VII. upon the Imperial throne, and to support him. From what happened, the King of Prussia was more convinced of the necessity of terminating, by signing the treaty of Breslaw, on the 11th of June, five days after the check on the Moldaw. It was settled under the auspices of England. Even the British Minister, Lord Hindford, was invested with powers from the Queen, and signed it in her name. The terms of peace on her part, were the cession of all Silesia, and the county of Glatz.

Saxony was to be included in this treaty, provided, that within the term of sixteen days from it's notification, their troops withdrew themselves from the French. This they had done a long while before the term, and, in fact, had never been of any great use.

In the mean while, the activity of Marshal Belleisle

1742.

leisle had hurried him to the Court of Dresden, in order to prevent this new defection: he could not put a stop to it; and Augustus III. renounced his pretensions *.

The Saxons at least made up a number, and the inability of the French appeared then in full view. Their army, collected and recruited, did not amount to 30,000 men; were in a foreign country, without succours, and destitute of allies; they wanted subsistence, and the means of procuring any; they were detested in the conquered towns, the language of which they were not sufficiently acquainted with, even to express their wants. Add to all this, the want of subordination among the subalterns, and the rivalry between the Generals. How was it possible that such an army should have been able to stand against that of Prince Charles, whose numbers were superior, who was beloved by his troops and subjects, who was in a situation to increase his army daily, and to obtain, without interruption, provisions, ammunition, and money? It ought to be considered as a prodigy of valour, good conduct, and firmness, that they were able to hold out six months longer in Bohemia, after the fatal treaty of the King of Prussia.

Marshal Belleisle was returned from Dresden into camp, and this was the circumstance that occasioned

* He had married the eldest daughter of the Emperor Joseph, Charles's eldest brother. It had been ordained in 1703, that the daughters of Joseph should inherit, to the exclusion of those of Charles VI. in case the two brothers should die without male issue. Charles VI. had annulled the Pragmatic Sanction of Joseph, and, having had his nieces in his power, had procured matches for them, only by making them renounce their rights; and this was considered as an act of compulsion.

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1742. the rivalry we have been mentioning. He had the patent of General in Bohemia; but Marshal Broglio being the oldest officer, insisted upon retaining the command: the principal officers knew not whom they were to obey. Cardinal Fleuri, in preserving to the former the King's confidence, did not decide the point in a sufficiently positive manner, and could not at last hit upon any other expedient but that of recalling the latter.

* July.

In the mean while the army was invested. Fortunately, Marshal Broglio, after having thrown some of his troops into Prague, had had the time to encamp the rest around the walls, by throwing up some strong intrenchments; but the effects of famine soon began to shew themselves. Marshal Belleisle, whose superior talents for negotiation were acknowledged by his rival, entered into conferences with Count Königseck, and proposed to surrender the town to the Queen, provided she would give the French army, and the garrison, leave to retire where they pleased, with their arms, artillery, and baggage. He supported this proposal with all the motives, which the despair of the besieged, the interests of the Queen, and the preservation of a flourishing capital, could suggest. It was rejected; it was stipulated, that the army should surrender prisoners of war: it was expected, that they would be reduced by famine, without any regard to one hundred thousand inhabitants, who were starved at the same time. The blockade was continued more than a month without success; large detachments scoured the countries, and gave no quarter to the French. One of these parties, under the command of a man named Trenck, fell upon a small defenceless spot, which had been converted into an hospital, where

1742.

there were at least 800 sick men, guarded by about 200, who surrendered instantly; they were all put to the sword without mercy. These cruelties serving only to increase the courage of the besieged, the Queen of Hungary, who was extremely desirous of recovering this capital, ordered siege to be laid to it in form. She sent away all the horses from her stables, to convey the artillery and ammunition: the Nobles of her Court imitated her example, by paying with their own money for the horses of the waggons. These circumstances, while they shewed the ardour of the Sovereign, and the zeal of her attendants, furnished at the same time a proof of her exhausted state.

At length the trenches were opened, and the works carried on with alacrity; but the French in one day destroyed all that had been executed. A sally of twelve thousand men, remarkable among many others, and which was executed on the 22d of August, convinced the besiegers of the danger and difficulty of their enterprize. The French re-entered the city conquerors, conveying along with them two hundred prisoners, General Monti, some colours, and some pieces of canon; but deploring the loss of the Marquisses de Tessé, de Clermont, de Molac, and other officers of distinction, and bringing back the Duke de Biron, who had commanded them on this bloody day, wounded.

This great action, equivalent to a battle, would only have served to hasten the reduction of the place, by weakening it's defence, if the Austrian artillery had been as well served as it was numerous and formidable, and if the engineers had been more skilful. They depended entirely upon time and famine. The
famine

1742.

famine became extreme : since the end of July, horse-flesh had been eaten at the best tables, and the price of it was more than three livres * the pound. There needed not so much to bring the Cardinal back to his ideas of tranquillity ; he would have had a right to find fault with Marshal Belleisle, if he had conformed entirely to his plan ; but he knew too well the excuse that General might alledge, and he chose rather to continue his confidence in him. He flattered himself that he would sincerely concur in his pacific dispositions. He made him deliver a letter from himself to Count Königseck, wherein he expressly said : “ many persons know how much I have opposed the resolutions we have taken, and that I have in some measure been compelled to consent to them. Your Excellency is too well acquainted with all that passes, not to conjecture who is the person who hath used his utmost endeavours to determine the King to enter into a league so contrary to my inclinations and my principles.”

11 July.

It was certainly a singular circumstance, that Marshal Belleisle should be the bearer of a letter which censured him so heavily. We must conclude, that the matter was agreed upon between them ; and that the Marshal, as a subtle Courtier, had consented that all the blame should be cast upon him, in the mind of the Queen of Hungary's Plenipotentiary. The old Minister made himself by this step less disagreeable to the Court of Vienna, but he rendered the person of the negotiator more odious. Besides, he manifested a want of firmness, and it was very incautious in him thus to expose his weakness to the enemy,

* Two shillings and six pence.

1742.

The result of this was, what he ought to have foreseen: his letter excited only contempt. The only answer the Queen of Hungary gave to it, was to have it published. This produced complaints from the Cardinal to the Austrian General; he told him, that *in future he would not be so ready to write to him.* The second letter was published as the former, and his Eminence was reduced to the necessity of disavowing his letters, as he had disavowed the war. These wrong proceedings, which were not, however, the less fatal, were imputed to his great age.

The Prime Minister, unable to alleviate the misfortunes of the army of Bohemia, had the folly to endeavour to conceal the height of them from the King. It cannot be said how far he would have carried this dangerous discretion. Fortunately, a stratagem was hit upon, which succeeded. A letter was sent to Madame de Mailly, in which their dreadful situation was described. This was, perhaps, the first time that the favourite had heard any thing about affairs of State. She concluded, it was of the utmost importance that his Majesty should be informed of it, and therefore left the letter carelessly upon the table, being persuaded that her august lover, from motives of curiosity and jealousy, would not fail to seize upon it. He did in fact read it, and was stricken with astonishment: he seemed piqued against his Governor, who still treated him as a pupil; but such was his slavery, that he did not dare express the least dissatisfaction to him upon the subject. He only caused the Council to be assembled in his presence, where it was discussed, whether the troops shut up in Prague should be succoured or not. The Cardinal was on the negative side of the question:

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1742. he represented the immense sums already lavished, for a Prince who did not exert himself; but the greatest part of the Ministers, and especially M. Orry, Comptroller General, though he owed his elevation to the Cardinal, opposed him. They demonstrated to the King, that his glory, and the honour of the nation, were concerned, not only in relieving the French, but in continuing to support the Emperor; a support which became still the more necessary, in consideration of the great exertions already made in his favour: in a word, they shewed the danger to be so extreme, that there was no need of hesitation, in ordering Marshal Maillebois to march speedily into Bohemia, at the head of the troops. In order to remove any anxiety the Cardinal might have respecting the means of finance, which was the circumstance particularly striking to him, M. Orry assured him, that money should not be wanting; and that he had upwards of seventy millions* in reserve for this expedition. One very strong objection still remained; which was, that this army, marching from the borders of the Rhine, to penetrate into Bohemia, would leave the kingdom defenceless, and even at the mercy of the Dutch; though, indeed, every necessary step had been taken to conciliate them. A treaty of commerce, navigation, and maritime affairs, had just been concluded with them; by which the same rights, privileges, and exemptions, were granted to the subjects of the United Provinces, as to the King's subjects, in the seas, ports, and roads of France, without their paying heavier duties; and, although reciprocal privileges were granted to the

September
1741.

* Near three millions sterling.

1742.

15 Nov.
1742.

French in the seas, roads, and ports of Holland, yet it is evident, considering the extensiveness of their trade, that, notwithstanding the parity of the terms, the advantage was by no means equal. The Marquis of Fenelon, the King's Ambassador in Holland, had declared to the States General, that his Majesty's intention, in giving succours to the Elector of Bavaria, had not been to make any conquests for his own benefit, nor to increase his power; and that he had no other object in view, but the support of his allies, and the interests of the Empire. At length, the Ambassador Fenelon himself became responsible for the neutrality of the States.

But there were still some apprehensions on the part of England; the supple and pacific Robert Walpole, had been replaced by the impetuous and turbulent Carteret. The latter had rejected with haughtiness the overtures of the Cardinal, and even those of the Emperor, who had in vain offered to secularize the bishoprics of Osnabrug and Hildesheim, and to give them up as the property of the Elector of Hanover, agreeably to his claims. His army, assembled near Brussels since the spring, and commanded by Lord Stair, bred up under Marlborough—being no longer kept in awe by that, which had compelled his master to sign an apparent neutrality for his German dominions, might at every instant break this neutrality, and make an irruption. There were scarce more than twenty thousand men remaining in the heart of the kingdom to oppose to it, in the first instance. In so embarrassing a situation, it became indispensably necessary to consult the oldest and most able Generals. Marshal Puysegur represented the difficulties and dangers of the new expedition; Marshal Noailles agreed

1742.

agreed with him, but insisted upon the necessity of it; and Marshal d'Asfeld was of the same opinion. The King; whose judgment was always excellent; when it was not subject to others, determined in favour of this hazardous, but urgent enterprize. Another point still remained to be decided: by what road the army should march, and to what place it was to be conducted. The Emperor asked for it in his Electorate; he wrote word, that to send it into Bohemia, was to weaken it, by a long, slow, and difficult march, and therefore to defeat it's intention; since it would be unable to undertake any thing, on account of the ruinous state it would [be in: that on the contrary, to deliver Bavaria, would be to deliver Prague, and to force the Austrians to march precipitately towards the Danube. The Emperor, moreover, wished to command this army. His conduct had not yet inspired such a degree of confidence, that he should be intrusted with this last resource. The Cardinal alledged the ridiculous pretence, that the army was not powerful enough to be under the command of a Sovereign of such importance; and that they were not able to give him a retinue proportioned to the dignity of the Imperial Crown. He expressed himself thus in his letter: "Would it be—
 "come an Emperor to appear at the head of our armies,
 "without the train suitable to his dignity?" This was an extreme humiliating observation to the Emperor, while it seemed to flatter his vanity; it was a severe mockery of a Prince, who subsisted only upon six millions * granted to him by France.

* Two hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Marshal

1742.

Marshal Maillebois, who commanded the army, and thought more of himself than of the Generals shut up in Prague, supported the demand of Charles VII. because he flattered himself that he should find more provisions in Bavaria, than in the arid passes of Bohemia. Puysegur, always circumspect, and compelled to accede to the opinion of the others, for sending away the army, thought at least that Maillebois should be left at liberty to pursue what route he pleased. These temporizing counsels did not fulfil the essential object, or at least, might make it miscarry. No time was to be lost; it was therefore resolved to proceed with the army into Bohemia, and by forced marches.

At this news the army of Prague testified inexpressible joy; and it's ardour was re-animated, while that of the enemy was proportionally damped; the latter began to lose the hopes of making two celebrated Marshals of France, with an army of twenty thousand men, prisoners.

They renewed the negotiations they had rejected; but Marshal Belleisle, in his turn, refused all their proposals; and the Queen, who had had a riding-dress made to enter into Prague in triumph, on horseback, at the head of her victorious troops, was obliged to order the raising of the siege, and to make her army march to the extremities of the kingdom, in order to stop up the entrance into it.

14 Sept.

In the mean time the anxiety was very great at Versailles, and was not removed 'till information was received that Marshal Maillebois had successfully advanced to the frontiers of Bohemia; that he had been reinforced by fifteen thousand recruits, sent some months before under the command of the Duke

1742.

of Harcourt, who had not been able to reach his destination, and had had much difficulty to maintain himself along the Danube against a superior enemy; and lastly, notwithstanding the efforts of Prince Charles, he reckoned, that in a little time he should join Marshal Broglie, who, on his part, had begun his march with some of his troops, to hasten and facilitate their junction, while Marshal Belleisle had remained in Prague with the rest. Count Saxe, well acquainted with the topography of the country, had also joined Marshal Maillebois with about fourteen thousand men; and in a council of war, staked his life, that he would convey the army, without opposition, through a pass, which he knew; but nothing could determine the General to move forward. His defenders, and especially Voltaire, exhaust themselves in arguments to justify him. The strongest argument they adduce in his support, is the letters of the Cardinal, who wrote to him twice: "Take care not to risque the honour of his Majesty's armies, and do not engage in any affair, the success of which may be doubtful." But what do these words mean, any more than that the Cardinal relied on his prudence? These ambiguous expressions, therefore, calculated to increase the pusillanimity of a timid General, would only have served to excite the ardour of one more intrepid. What, in fact, was the object upon which Maillebois was sent? Did he fulfil that object? Did he do every thing in his power to fulfil it? Upon these three points it is that his conduct must be judged. His object was, not only to cause the siege of Prague to be raised, which his diversion in Bavaria would equally have done, but also to save, by his junction, a whole army, which being shut up on all sides

1742.

sides in an enemy's country, must otherwise have perished with famine, misery, and despair. He could not effect this salutary purpose without beating the enemy, and without forcing the passes of Bohemia: this he knew at setting off. With an army therefore of sixty thousand men, well appointed, full of fire, and which breathed nothing but action, he ought to have hazarded a battle, the most fatal issue of which could not have been productive of more mischief than that which resulted from his inactivity alone. When there was no longer time for it, and when the army had no more than a week's bread, he assembled a Council of War. All the General Officers were of opinion to return. The Count d'Estrees alone, who was in Egra, wrote word: "I see no other step to be taken, but either to collect all our forces, and to fight, or else not to go any further." Maillebois thinking himself sufficiently authorised by the rest, left Egra to the guard of the Marquis d'Herouville, turned to his right, took the route of the Danube, and endeavoured to raise some apprehensions in the enemy for Austria. The Grand Duke went to cover Passaw, which is the key of it. General Berenklow went out of Munich, where he was blocked up. Count Seckendorf sent four thousand men to take possession of it in the name of the Emperor. This was the second time that the Austrians evacuated this conquered city, which was thrice reconquered, and at length totally ruined the last time.

The discontents were extreme at Paris, where there are incessantly a multitude of idle speculators, tormented, notwithstanding the danger, with the thirst of speaking, who often criticise, with equal judgment

1742. and sagacity, the operations of Government and of the Generals. The restlessness natural to the nation, had made them eager for war; they soon censured the mode of carrying it on: they felt the burthen of an Emperor, who had nothing but the title: they admired the Queen of Hungary; and they wished to be avenged of the King of Prussia, who, securing to himself all the advantage of the victory, had left to us the embarrassment, the expences, and fatal consequences of it: their attention at this instant was turned towards Bohemia; they hoped that they should see the delivery of such a number of brave men, among whom there was scarce any one who had not some relations or friends. The indignation became universal, when information was received of the ignominious manœuvre of Maillebois. The public was gratified with his being recalled and disgraced; he was superseded by Marshal Broglio, and Marshal Belleisle was thus left master of the operations, which had hitherto been too much confined by the rivalry between those two commanders. Belleisle was again blocked up in Prague by Prince Lobkowitz: the calamities of a siege were felt more violently than ever; the rigour of the season enhanced these calamities, and the situation of the city was infinitely more dreadful than before, because there remained no hope of being relieved; and thus all the General's resources were now only in himself. If we credit this Commander, his measures were taken for all the orders that could be given him. If he were ordered to hold out, he would answer for the garrison for four months, if not, he made a point of conducting it to Egra. The Court chose the latter resolution; the Marshal was allowed to leave the city, and to carry

1742.

carry away his troops. This permission, however, was to be obtained from enemies more exasperated than ever. In fact, how could he venture to cross, in a rigorous season, an extent of thirty-eight leagues of a ruined country, without provisions, without magazines, without cavalry, surrounded by an army, and continually harassed by multitudes of light troops? The Marshal was not startled at all these obstacles; he concealed his design under a veil of impenetrable secrecy; provided for every thing, ordered his arrangements under another pretence, and deceived Prince Lobkowitz, the inhabitants of the city, the Prince's spies, and even his own. He marched out in the night, from the 16th to the 17th of December, with eleven thousand infantry and three thousand two hundred and fifty cavalry, took with him the most distinguished hostages of the city, thirty pieces of cannon, and provisions for twelve days. With this train he penetrated through plains covered with snow, having to encounter the cold, together with a multitude of Hussars, Croats, Pandours, and Tulpaches. The cold was so extreme, that it destroyed upwards of eight hundred soldiers, and that one of the hostages died in the Marshal's carriage. The Hussars are Hungarian horsemen, mounted upon small, light, and indefatigable horses. The Croats, called in French *Cravates*, are the militia of Croatia. The Pandours are Slavonians, who inhabit the borders of the Drave and the Save: they wear a long coat; have several pistols at their girdle, a sabre, and a dagger. The Tulpaches are Hungarian infantry, armed with a musquet, two pistols, and a sabre. Such were the irregular troops, or rather the robbers, more barbarous than their names,

1742.

whom the French had continually to encounter, in their rear and on their flank; but the General, though sick, and unable to mount his horse, did not abandon his little army; he had himself conveyed to all parts where his presence was necessary, prevented his troops from being penetrated, and contrived to protect them from the vigilance, activity, and cruelty of these savage hords: he avoided the defiles, where any regular troops lay in ambush for him, and arrived at Egra without receiving the least check. So fine a retreat has been compared to that of the ten thousand, with this difference, that the latter, which happened more than two thousand years ago, and is recounted by the General himself, is very suspicious in some points; while the other, which has happened in our days, and under our own eyes *, is yet attested by persons present; and, having remained uncontroverted by their enemies, still continues to excite general admiration.

The Austrian General, exasperated at having suffered so good a prey to escape, returned to Prague, and summoned the city to surrender. M. de Chévert, whom the Marshal had left there with a garrison of about six thousand men, but chiefly composed of sick and wounded persons, threatened to set fire to the town, and to bury himself in it's ruins, unless the honours of war were granted to him, and unless he were allowed to join the main army, with all his gar-

* A sceptic might use very plausible arguments, to invalidate even this latter event. Does not Voltaire agree, in his *History of the War of 1741*, that it hath always been a question, whether the French troops had been as far as Caden, or not? Does he not use all his efforts to authenticate the fact? And yet, after having read him, have we not a right to say, that he has not resolved the difficulty?

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rison. He obtained every thing he wished, and withdrew to Egra. This was the only town in Bohemia, which the Emperor still possessed, and which he lost the following year. He found himself, by a revolution as rapid as his fortune had been, deprived of all his conquests, upon the point of being bereft of his own dominions for the third time, and still satisfied with preserving, through the protection of Lewis XV. an imposing title, but little respected, when not supported by power. Accordingly, the Queen of Hungary, who had caused herself to be crowned at Prague, on the 12th of May 1743, retorted upon him all the trouble, and all the disgraces he had brought upon her, and compelled the States of Bavaria to swear allegiance to her.

1742.

7 Sept.
1743.13 Sept.
1743.

The Queen celebrated the surrender of the capital of Bohemia by a most magnificent and gallant festival, which she gave at Vienna. It was a race of horses and chariots, in imitation of the Greeks, and which was so much the more singular, as there were none but ladies, at the head of whom was Maria Theresa herself, and her sister, the Princess of Lorraine, who entered the lists to dispute the prize. This was a sight hitherto unknown in Europe, and in the rest of the world. Her intention had been, with reason, personally to celebrate the triumph of her sex. If she had not been distinguished by her rank, her beauty would have attracted every eye. In the flower of her age, she still preserved all the brilliancy of youth: she was tall, and had a most majestic deportment. With these personal qualities, she possessed others more essential—a great deal of understanding, with a firmness of mind rarely to be found even among men. She had gained the hearts of all the people by a popular affability, unknown to

1742.

her ancestors. She had banished that haughtiness and etiquette, which they had never relinquished. The Archduchess, her aunt, who governed the Low Countries, had never suffered any person at her table; while Maria Theresa admitted to her's all the ladies, and all officers of merit. She gave regular audiences, where freedom of speech was allowed; and if any petition was not granted, at least the petitioners departed satisfied with her. This character of mildness and magnanimity, supported during a reign of forty years, may serve as an answer to those who reproach her with the cruelties committed during this war by her troops, which were frequently an assemblage of undisciplined, fierce, and sanguinary nations, whom she stood in need of, and at whose mercy even the Sovereign herself was obliged to be. It was undoubtedly the deep sense of her misfortunes, that was the motive of her obstinacy in refusing to acknowledge, as Head of the Empire, a Prince elected according to all its formalities, but who was the immediate author of all her calamities. If, indeed, any thing could excuse, to the eyes of humanity, a revenge which spilt the blood of so many of her subjects, and of all the inhabitants of Europe, it would be the sight of that dreadful distress to which she had been reduced.

These times were now no more: the face of the Queen's affairs was changed, not only in Germany, but in Italy also. The King of Sardinia, one of the claimants in the first instance, had laid his pretensions upon the Milanese—had exposed his rights in a manifesto—had put troops on foot to support them—and had acceded to the treaty of alliance between France and the Elector of Bavaria, in the hope
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1742.

of receiving reciprocal succours, and of enriching himself with the spoils of the unfortunate Maria Theresa. But as soon as the Spaniards, whose views were similar to his, had sent some troops into the disputed countries, he discovered the error of his politics: he readily conceived, that he should not act for his own advantage, but that, after having exhausted his powers for ungrateful allies, the Spaniards would reap the benefit. All things considered, he would rather have seen the dutchy in the possession of the House of Austria, than in that of the House of Bourbon, whose vicinity and aggrandizement in Italy he dreaded. In imitation of the King of Prussia, paying no further regard to the faith of his engagements, than as they were useful to him, he suddenly changed sides, and concluded with the Queen of Hungary a convention, by which, with the exceptions of his rights and pretensions, he joined himself with her against the common enemy. This was a treaty made between two enemies, dictated by urgent necessity, against a third. He accordingly joined his troops to those of the Queen, and seized upon the dutchy of Modena. The Sovereign of this petty state, married to a Princess of the blood of France, and secretly attached to Spain, affected a neutrality which he could not keep. A prey to the strongest party, he lost his principality, which was ruined; and, as an indemnity, he received the title of Generalissimo of his Catholic Majesty. By his defection, the King of Sardinia, who, as we have observed before, opens and shuts at pleasure the gates of Italy on the side of the Alps, preserved the Milanese to his rival, whom he wished, according to his first plan, to have deprived of it. Further, he rendered

May 1743.

1742.

dered her an inestimable service, in keeping forty thousand French, and as many Spaniards, employed in that country, who were consuming themselves in vain efforts, which they might have exerted in other parts to a much better purpose.

The King of Spain had begun his hostilities, by conveying into Italy, by sea, a body of troops, which were advancing towards Ferrara, under the command of the Duke de Montemar, who, having acquired the glorious surname of Bitonto in those regions, ought to have been prompted to support it. The most singular circumstance is, that his troops, which were obliged to pass over the territories of Tuscany, had received the permission of the Grand Duke, declared neuter in the cause of his wife,

17 May.

Don Philip, on his part, went into Italy by land, with more troops, and passed through France. This was all that could be obtained of the Cardinal; who, not having sufficient firmness to observe a perfect neutrality, was equally incapable of vigorous exertions, which might have brought on a speedy peace. This irruption, in fact, was not attended with any happy effect; and before the end of the campaign, after a few advantages, Don Philip was obliged to retreat, and get back into Dauphiny. The affairs of his Catholic Majesty were not more advanced in the heart of Italy, than on the frontiers. The King of the two Sicilies had been obliged to withdraw his troops; and, while others were forced to break the neutrality, this Prince was compelled to observe it—the son was not permitted to give succours to his father. An English squadron presented itself before the port of Naples: it was commanded by Captain Martin. This officer, belonging to a
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1742.

nation which affects to resemble the Romans in every thing—which frequently exhibits the same grandeur, the same injustice, and the same insolence—threatened the King, that he would bombard his capital, unless he relinquished the interests of Spain. In imitation of Popilius, he allowed him only an hour to take his resolution: the King was obliged to submit. This was, in fact, no more than a reprisal of the conduct of France, respecting Hanover, Holland, and those petty Princes of Germany, who are always dragged into the vortex of the greater Powers. The only difference was, that the conduct of England was more open and daring. In a word, it was still the right of the strongest, under the sad oppression of which mankind groan, from one end of the universe to the other; and for which, if there be any consolation, it is to see the oppressors become victims in their turn.

The Duke de Montemar, weakened by the defection of the King of Naples—driven from one post to another, and pressed by the Austrians—was continually losing ground: he would infallibly have fallen a sacrifice, had it not been for the diversion of Don Philip. His ill-fortune, which was the effect of the circumstances, was imputed to him; and he became famous in this second Italian war, only by his disgrace. He was succeeded by Count Gages; who, having not had more success, for want of sufficient forces, justified his predecessor.

These were nothing more than the preludes to more considerable events. Amidst the general confusion prevailing in the affairs of Europe, it was no longer possible that they should be settled without a violent crisis, which could only arise from the shock

1742. of two preponderating Powers at that time—Powers, which, from being auxiliaries, were soon to become principals. France already shewed itself openly; she had lavished her treasures, and the blood of her subjects. England, acting more secretly, had as yet only supplied money, but had begun to speak out; and her proceeding with regard to the King of Naples, announced a disposition to support that step soon with all her forces.

The Cardinal, to use his own expression, *drawn away so far from his own measures*, despaired of being able to revert to them. His health grew worse every day; and, though it was contrived, by a puerile adulation, to swell the news-papers with accounts of people who had arrived to one hundred years of age, most of them imaginary, and to distribute romantic reports of wonderful elixirs to prolong life, yet he could not but perceive that he was mortal. He often fell into dangerous languors, the forerunners of a total annihilation. His physicians having absolutely forbidden him any application to business for *some time*, he took the least part he could in the deliberations of the Council, and passed most of his time at Issy, a villa at two leagues distance from Paris; but he still retained the shadow of authority. The Ministers came every day to give him an account of matters, and to receive his orders. M. de Breteuil, Secretary of State for the war department, after having been engaged some hours one morning with his Eminence, fainted away on going out, so that he was thought to be dead. The Cardinal's people, fearing lest this accident should make too great an impression upon their master, afforded him no kind of assistance; they got rid of him as fast as they could,

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1 Jan.
1743.

1743.

put him into his coach, and he expired as he arrived at Paris. So refined an attention, or rather, so atrocious a piece of inhumanity, which excited a general clamour, and cost the Marquis de Breteuil his life, did not prolong for many days that of the Cardinal. He died on the 29th of January. He had suffered a long time, and with a great deal of firmness. He preserved all his presence of mind almost to his latest breath. The King paid him two visits during his illness, and was a witness of his end; he brought the Dauphin into his room, and, while the young Prince was kept at a distance from the dying man, the Cardinal desired he should be brought near: *It is good for him, said he, to be used to such sights*; a philosophical expression, but too inconsistent with the language of a Courtier, to have escaped him at an earlier period: it was a sure indication, that he was no longer attached to this world. These were the last words he spoke. It is said, that in the course of his conversations with the King, while he was giving his Majesty an account of the state of the kingdom, and of the conduct he thought it necessary to pursue in the present state of Europe, he had inspired him with an aversion for the Cardinal de Tencin, a man of good understanding, who appeared to have gained his esteem and confidence—who was just entered into the Council—and whom he had even flattered with the hopes of succeeding him; a Prelate, besides, who in his principles was strongly attached to the Molinists and the Jesuits. This false dealing can only be attributed to the apprehension Fleuri had, that this Minister would too soon obliterate his memory. The apprehension, indeed, arose from his mode of thinking, which qualifies, and in some measure

1743. fure corrects, whatever may at first sight appear disgusting and abominable in this selfish idea. He dreaded men of profound or active genius in great places: he feared the systematic turn of the former, and the restlessness of the latter. He thought that affairs might be carried on as well without them, and that they often did more mischief than good. He considered the administration of the state in the same light as the management of a family estate; and he had observed, in the intercourse of life, that men of the first talents were not those whose domestic concerns were best regulated. Order, economy, mildness, patience, simplicity, and the appearances of candour and faith, were, according to him, the true springs of government; and it was rather a matter of indifference, what sort of a man was Minister, provided he had not the defects opposed to these qualities. Persons desirous of controverting this opinion, might have adduced the example of the Regent; but he would have answered them by his own; and his experience was more convincing to him, than any model that could be proposed. He would have observed, that Philip, with a greater share of philosophy, and more extensive views, was just the man adapted to the minority of Lewis XV. and Fleuri to the period after the Regency. At the death of Lewis XIV. when the authority, which had long been in the hands of one man, was going to be subdivided among different bodies, there was a necessity for a firm hand to tighten and keep together the several connections—for a Chief, whose birth, courage, and talents were calculated to inspire awe—for an enterprizing and bold genius, capable of effecting some unexpected, speedy, short, and decisive

1743.

cisive revolution, suited to the desperate situation of affairs. France was then in the state of a sick man, whose life is despaired of, given over by his physicians, and left to the perilous experiments of an empiric. In 1726, *it was a healthy strong man, who had experienced some indisposition, and wanted nothing more than a little regulation of diet.* Such was the accurate comparison drawn by the Cardinal himself, in answer to a project of innovation in the finance. He thus gave a previous description of the nature of his government, which, in every particular, bore the marks of his mild and tranquil disposition. The political faults and errors of administration, which have been imputed to him, were still the effects of the same principle. If he neglected the navy, it was in order to keep peace with England—if he was too free in the employment of letters *de cachet*, it was to keep peace in the church—if he placed too much confidence in the Farmers General, and consolidated that devouring body to the heart of the State, it was to prevent the troubles occasioned by changes and apparent improvements. In a word, he never attempted to be great, but always strove to be useful.

His moderation attended him in all the periods of his life, at every age, and in all circumstances; it directed even his passions, and, by an extraordinary singularity, became the cause of his greatness. Lewis XIV. had long refused him a bishopric; and he waited for it with resignation. This modesty pleased the King, who gave him the bishopric of Frejus, when he had given over all thoughts of obtaining one. His Majesty told him: *I have made you wait rather long, because you had too many friends*
who

1743. *who solicited for you, and I chose to have the satisfaction that you should be obliged to no one but myself.*

The same moderation induced him to resign his bishopric, as soon as he had hopes of residing at Court. His pretext for this was his health: this also prevented him from receiving the Archbishopric of Rheims, offered him by the Duke of Orleans. He answered Marshal Villars, who was pressing him to accept it, that it would be inconsistent to suppose, he had strength enough to govern so important a diocese, when his health had not permitted him to reside at Frejus. The fact is, that, aspiring to higher employments, he did not chuse to leave Versailles. But his reserved ambition did not hurry him into dignities; he insinuated himself into them by dint of mildness and flexibility; he would have wished, that his promotion had gone on in some sort imperceptibly. When he was appointed Preceptor to the young Dauphin, he wrote thus to Cardinal Quirini: "I have regretted more than once the solitude of Frejus. At my arrival here I learned, that the King was near his end, and that he had done me the honour to appoint me Preceptor to his great grandson; if he had been able to attend to me, I would have intreated him to have delivered me from a task which makes me tremble; but after his death I was not listened to: this intelligence has made me ill, and I cannot comfort myself for the loss of my liberty." The consolation he was then endeavouring to prepare for himself from afar, was to be invested with the Roman purple.

An equal and sociable temper made the Abbé Fleuri one of the most amiable persons at Court.

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When he came there, he was truly calculated to succeed, and was himself sensible of it in the first instance. When he was obliged to remove to a distance from Court, the residence of Frejus displeased him: he used to say in jest, *that as soon as he had seen his wife, he grew disgusted of his marriage*; and his Eminence signed a letter, written in the same stile of pleasantry: *Fleuri, by the indignation of Heaven, Bishop of Frejus.*

The fair sex was charmed with his agreeable person and manners; and he gained the attachment of the men by his outward simplicity and seeming candour, for he was not always the same as he appeared to be. His hypocrisy, however, had nothing mean or odious in it. In other men, this vice is not only an habitual restraint of their disposition, but also a laborious effort to assume a different character. In him, it was the natural address of displaying his own only to a certain degree, in the necessary point of view, and in the most seducing and most favourable light.

With this art of appearing always the same, while he modelled himself in a hundred different ways, he obtained every thing he wished. In 1728, he enchanted the Congress of Soissons, merely by his presence. Soon after, like another Nestor, the honey distilled from his lips, and he gained over all the suffrages. The Plenipotentiaries looked upon him as their father. Several Princes of the Empire, and even the Emperor Charles VI. himself, sometimes gave him this title in their letters. At the time of the vacancy of the throne of Poland, an improper use was made of his reputation of being a pacific man. The Chancellor declared loudly, that any thing might

1743.

be attempted against Stanislaus, and that the Cardinal would suffer it. He did not however suffer it, and, by giving way to events, terminated this war with much greater advantage than he expected. His death would have happened, before France had experienced any misfortune under his government, if, by flattering his pacific turn, he had not been drawn into the war of 1741, which, though begun with brilliancy, became afterwards unfortunate, and continued so to the end of his career. One of the greatest calamities it occasioned, was the tax of the tenth. This tax had been levied for the first time in 1710, by Lewis XIV. that is to say, after ten years of a most disastrous war, in which he had struggled against all Europe, and after the severe winter of 1709, a calamity of which the annals of the monarchy do not record a similar instance. The Sovereign himself, though so absolute, exasperated at this dreadful subsidy, exclaimed, when it was proposed to him: *I have no such right* *. This tax, renewed in 1733, was withdrawn three years afterwards. Upon this occasion, it had been resorted to before the commencement of hostilities †. The Cardinal foresaw, without anxiety, that it would remain for ever.

The war continuing to rage with greater violence, instead of being terminated, was a circumstance that would have disturbed his tranquillity, hitherto unalterable, had not old-age blunted his sensibility; a

* This expression is quoted in many works. We have taken it from the *Avocat National*.

† The declaration published on the 29th of August 1741, ordered the levy of the tenth to begin from the 1st of October following.

quality, which indeed he never had possessed in any high degree. It was never carried to any excess, even with respect to the sex. Voluptuous by inclination, he was temperate and restrained by reason; so that his moderation contributed to give him a long and fortunate life. He had arrived to the age of ninety years without any infirmity—his understanding sound, his head free; still susceptible of enjoyments, and capable of business; his heart decayed, but his stomach excellent. He always drank his liquors in ice, even in the severest colds of the winter.

The Cardinal's wit was lively and delicate; his conversation easy, amusing, and full of curious anecdotes. His repartees were quick and brilliant; he rallied with nicety, and, which is very uncommon, without offending any one. He turned this quality to the satisfaction of others, by flattering them with ingenuity. He spoke and wrote equally well. Some of his latter notes are still existing, which shew, that he preserved to the end the same agreeableness of style. He was fond of literature; had a good share of taste, and a very sound judgment. One stroke, that does him much honour, is, that, notwithstanding the hypocrites who surrounded him, he ventured to approve the famous tragedy intitled *Fanaticism**, and to anticipate the judgment of a great Pope. This tragedy was acted under his

* This title having offended the Clergy, the tragedy of *Fanaticism* is since known only by the name of *Mabomet*. Voltaire, in 1745, had the address to obtain a brief of approbation from Pope Benedict XIV. Lewis XV. by the advice of Count d'Argenson, ordered at length that this piece should be acted, in 1751, and it has remained ever since invariably settled on the theatre.

1743. auspices a few months before his death. But unfortunately, he had not the courage to support it to the end, against the clamours of that same fanaticism. Without forbidding, he advised the author to withdraw it. It is evident, however, that Voltaire always gave him credit for his good-will, which has procured him the advantage of being favourably treated by this writer, whenever he has been mentioned by him.

With the disposition to œconomy which the Cardinal was known to have, and which generally increases with age, and degenerates too often into avarice, it might have been supposed that he would have left behind him a considerable fortune. On the contrary, he died without any estate; having spent the little patrimony he had inherited from his family. His whole revenue, which was extinct with him, consisted of 60,000 livres * accruing from his two ecclesiastical preferments, 20,000 livres † only which he got from his post in the Council, and 15,000 livres ‡ from the posts, the direction of which he had. This did not amount in all to 100,000 livres § per annum. It is not in the least surprising, that a Prime Minister should have spent the whole of this income; at present we see a First Clerk at Versailles often running through as much. Voltaire assures us, that his furniture did not amount to two thousand crowns ||; it is difficult to believe

* Two thousand five hundred pounds.

† Near nine hundred pounds.

‡ Six hundred and twenty-five pounds.

§ About four thousand pounds.

|| Two hundred and fifty pounds.

this,

this, for there is no mechanic whose goods are not of more value. 1743.

It must be acknowledged, that if he did not enrich his family by his inheritance, he had taken very good care of them. He resisted long the vanity of raising them : at length he yielded to importunities, and provided for all his relations very magnificently. This was the most noble way of settling their fortune. He created one of his nephews Duke and Peer, Governor of Lorraine, and Gentleman of the bed-chamber. This last post was not obtained without difficulty. The other Gentlemen of the bed-chamber considered him as unworthy of this post, which belonged only to persons of the highest birth ; the authority of the Sovereign was obliged to interfere on this occasion, but still it could not shield the new comer against all the disagreeable things thrown in his way by the rest, whenever an opportunity offered.

The King, was perhaps the only man in the kingdom who regretted the Cardinal, except his servants, his relations, and his creatures. In the height of his gratitude, not satisfied with ordering an honour to be rendered to him in the first instance, which is reserved for crowned heads, by having a solemn service performed at Notre Dame—where the first orator of the time, Neuville the Jesuit, was appointed to pronounce his funeral oration—he was also desirous of transmitting these sentiments to the remotest posterity ; and ordained, that a mausoleum should be erected to this Minister in the church of *St. Louis du Louvre*. But this great sensibility afterwards grew cooler, so much that the monument would have remained unfinished in the artist's hands, if the Cardinal's family

1743. family had not paid the expences, and desired it to be continued.

The people, who at the death of a Minister usually think themselves, and not without reason, freed from a calamity—but who do not consider, that their sorrow or joy ought to be regulated by subsequent events—rejoiced at the death of the Cardinal before they knew his successor. Little did they imagine, that the epocha of his administration, however imperfect it may have been, would one day be considered by historians as a favour of Heaven, and as *the golden age of France* *; that to this golden age, ending with him, and even before him, would succeed an age of silver, and that this last would soon be converted into an iron age. It is thus we subdivide the third period of the reign of Lewis XV. which we are going to enter upon, after we have taken a review of some unconnected facts, which the preceding series has obliged us to postpone to future discussion. It is particularly necessary to determine the state in which he left the navy, this being the part of his administration most exposed to censure.

Although the French navy was not upon that respectable footing which it ought to have been, yet the Cardinal, during his life, had not the regret of seeing it derogate from the idea always entertained, that with equal forces it would never be inferior to its rival navy. Without endeavouring to account for this from the notion of superior bravery, a chimera in which national presumption is apt to

* These are the terms used by the author of the *Historical Journal of Lewis XV. surnamed the Bien aimé*, a servile adulator of that Monarch, who wrote in his time, with permission and privilege, and before the disastrous conclusion of his reign.

indulge itself, there are three natural and very evident causes which concur in producing the following circumstance—that between two vessels of the same force, the equality is only apparent. The wood of the French ships is stronger, the balls of a larger size, and the crew infinitely more numerous; advantages which are compensated, perhaps, on the side of the English, by the suppleness with which the ship yields to the motions they mean to give it, by the greater facility of their manœuvres, and by their sailors being more active and experienced. Hence arises the different mode of fighting between the two nations. The English having fewer men, must necessarily avoid boarding the vessel; their business is to endeavour to conquer the ship rather than the crew, that is, to disable her. They should always keep the advantage of the wind, in order that they may, by more rapid evolutions, fire a greater number of broadsides, and receive as few as possible, and in the least dangerous situation. The French, on the contrary, having a greater number of hands to enable them to board, it is their advantage to attempt it. In default of this, they fire at the hulk, in order to kill or wound a greater number of men, by sweeping the deck; or, by making holes, to let in the water, to weaken the crew, by obliging them to work the pumps; in a word, their position under the wind, leaves them at liberty to play off their chief battery, and by this heavy fire to occasion greater damage. These circumstances have certainly experienced some alterations, but we are speaking of the navy at that time.

The Duke de Penthièvre, who had been appointed to the office of High Admiral of France from his earliest infancy, and who had done the duties of it

1743. since the death of his father, was but eighteen years of age, and therefore could not signalize himself. The two Vice Admirals were the Count of St. Maure and the Marquis of Antin. The first, who was very old, was scarce known but by a fault he had committed, and by a *bon mot*. Being commander of the ship called the *Fougueux*, of 74 guns, and conducting her from the port of Rochefort into the road, he split her upon a rock, where she still remains. Upon seeing this, he said coolly, that the ship would serve for a sea mark *. The other Vice Admiral, the youngest son of the Countess of Toulouse by a first marriage, had risen to this dignity by the most signal favour, without having gone through the trials necessary in all professions, and particularly in the navy; a very difficult employment, which requires a long and laborious apprenticeship, to which nothing can be substituted. Being promoted to a post, the reward of the longest services, at an age when he ought but just to have come out of the first steps of the navy, he had endeavoured to supply, as much as he could, the want of practice, by theory. He was fond of navigation, and had made it his particular study; he was exasperated that it should be neglected, and that his rank would not permit him to begin again from the lowest situation, in order to form himself to it; he had carried his attention to the most minute details, and had not neglected, when an opportunity offered, to inform himself of the navy of

* This is a mark, sometimes made by a floating tun, sometimes by a mast raised upon a bank, in some pass or way made dangerous by rocks concealed under water, and which is placed there as a warning to ships to avoid it.

other nations, and especially of the English. As he had never been in an engagement, it could not be determined whether he was brave; but he was too highly born, to give any reason to suppose that he would forget himself, in any occasions where his person was to be exposed. These occasions are more frequent and more unavoidable on sea than on land. He seemed to be animated with a noble ardour, when it was decided that Spain should be succoured, and that the French flag should be respected. He asked for a command suitable to a Vice Admiral, and set out from Brest with a naval armament of 22 ships of the line. This effort astonished Great Britain; which grew uneasy at the destination of such forces. They joined themselves to the Spaniards in America, and were of use in protecting their vessels and their coasts. The law of nations did not allow the English, who had not yet broken with France, and had still an Ambassador in the kingdom, to attack her flag.

After a voyage of eight months, the Marquis of Antin re-entered Brest, from whence he never returned to Paris; this gave rise to a report that he had been killed by a General Officer, jealous of being commanded by so young a man. This anecdote is not true; the fact is, that he was afflicted with a hydrocele, and attempted to cure himself; the tumour was of a monstrous size, so that his walking was impeded by it, and consequently awkward; he injured himself in the attempt, the wound mortified, and he died a victim to false modesty. A Nobleman, who began to shew himself to so much advantage, was regretted; and his death afflicted particularly the Princess his mother,

1743.

Sept.
1740.

24 April,
1741.

1743. ther, who was tenderly attached to him. He left a widow, very rich, beautiful, and in the bloom of life, by whom he had had no children: she was afterwards married to Count Forcalquier, and her person has long been one of the ornaments of the Court.

One event of the naval armament of the Marquis d'Antin, is worthy of being transmitted to the remotest posterity; this is the conduct of the Marquis de Boulainvilliers. He commanded the *Bourbon* of 74 guns; several leaks which had opened themselves, had prevented this vessel from keeping company. She had been left behind, and the Squadron had lost sight of her. The Captain however had brought her up as high as Ushant; when he perceived the damage to be increased to such a degree, that all the pumps, and continual working at them, could not draw out as much water as was let in; and that his ship was incapable of steering, of being refitted or hauled up in time. Confined on board of her by an austere duty, he braved death, and thought of nothing but saving some subjects to his King. His son was among the number he formed a pretence of sending off for some succours, which he knew well would arrive too late; he made them get into the long-boat, to the number of eleven officers, and as many seamen, who, half an hour afterwards, had the affliction to see this fond and generous father, and all their comrades, swallowed up in the sea with the *Bourbon*. A most dreadful fight; the horror of which was perhaps but too sensibly alleviated by the satisfaction of existing at the same instant.

19 April,
1741.

This naval armament, without having been in
any

1743.

January,
1741.

any action, supported at least the honour of the French flag. Two other inferior squadrons did more. The English, pretending to take the French for Spaniards, attacked, in the latitude of Saint Domingo, with six vessels, the Chevalier d'Epinay, who had but four; and, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, and in the strength of their ships, were obliged to give way, to make apologies, and to impute their aggression to a mistake. They undoubtedly owed their safety to the usual moderation of the Cardinal, who, flattering himself that he should not be obliged to come to an open rupture with England, had ordered the greatest circumspection to be used in the instructions given to the French Commandant.

Another time, the ship called the *Boreas*, commanded by the Chevalier de Caylus, the *Aiguillon*, by Count Pardaillan, and the *Flora* frigate, were assaulted by four men of war and a frigate, belonging to his Britannic Majesty, at the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar; and though they were five to three, they could not penetrate the French Squadron, and withdrew after an engagement of three hours, notwithstanding Count Pardaillan was killed at the first broadside. The English thus tried their strength against the French, without declaring themselves enemies: they began already to adopt that policy, more useful than glorious, of attacking them only with advantage, and of beginning the war with a constant certainty of success.

The death of Samuel Bernard, an old man almost of the same age as his Eminence, which happened a little before his own, and could not be concealed from him, was an event that struck the Cardinal

in

5 Aug.
1741.

1743.

in a singular manner. This Jew, descended from a nation proscribed in France, and which is excluded from her several corporations, had risen to the highest degree of consideration that riches can procure. One of his three children he had seen created President of the Parliament, another, Master of the Court of Requests, and his daughter married to M. Molé, since chosen First President. He was Banker to the Court, who had loaded him with their iniquities, in making him become a bankrupt for them. He thus indicated too plainly, to men of the same stamp, the road to fortune by that of infamy. This only served to increase his opulence, for he left behind him 33 millions * of property. He deserves commendation however in these particulars, that he would not abandon the God of his fathers, in order to become capable of honours which his money might have purchased; and that he often employed his riches in doing good actions and assisting the unfortunate. Besides, he shewed upon some occasions a nobleness and firmness of soul, which seemed to render him superior to all those great men who meanly paid their court to him. At the time of the disgrace of M. Chauvelin, Keeper of the Seals, the Cardinal—so much the more exasperated against this Minister, who had endeavoured to supplant him, as he had the more intimately intrusted him with his confidence—strove to find out proofs sufficient to destroy him. He sent Hérault, the Lieutenant of Police, to Samuel Bernard's, to question him, by way of registering his answer, concerning certain funds transmitted into foreign parts, or which had passed through his

* One million three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds.
hands,

hands. But the Banker, having asked him with dignity to produce his powers for such a commission, refused to have any further conference upon the subject; so that the Magistrate withdrew without being able to get any information from him.

A spirit of moderation and order, similar to that of the Cardinal, had conciliated his Eminence to him, and, like that Minister, he had reaped the fruits of it, in a long life and sound health. In the midst of his luxury, which however does not come near to that of our modern financiers, he had a kind of modesty which rendered it tolerable, and prevented the master from becoming odious. His house, in the *Place des Victoires*, is still to be seen, which the lowest Farmer General would refuse at this day, and which had not even a court-yard. He had several singularities, which have been handed down to us, and some of which were attached to his situation. From the time he rose, to the hour of his going to bed, he obliged one of his coachmen to keep his horses always ready harnessed to his carriage;—his porter was to be incessantly upon the watch, and to attend to the least noise, that he might open the gates before his master came to them, and that his coach might drive in quickly without knocking;—at his return from business, the soup was to be brought upon table to a minute: he then sat down, and his guests took their places about him.

Samuel Bernard was very fond of playing at Bre-lan *; he always played at sweep-stakes, and was surprized that any body should take him up. One night, when a certain person had won a consider-

* A particular game of cards.

1743. able sum of him, he was so exasperated, that he would neither defer paying him to the morning, nor give his adversary leisure to settle the mode of carrying away so much property: he ordered the sacks, containing the amount of his debt, to be carried down to him at the gate, and left him there alone, very much embarrassed, and exposed to have his throat cut by the first passenger whose cupidity might be excited at the view of such riches.

He was superstitious, as the people of his nation are, and had a black hen, to whom he thought his destiny was attached: he had the greatest care taken of her, and the loss of this fowl was in fact the period of his own existence, in January 1739.

The greatest part of the 33 millions * he left behind him, were already consumed ten years after his death; and of his two grandsons, who bore his name, one deserved the gallows for an atrocious and punishable act of cruelty, and the other disgraced himself by being accused of a base and fraudulent commerce.

With a life prolonged to such a period as the Cardinal's was, a man generally survives his family, his friends, and his creatures; he had seen one of these last fall in the Ministry, in the person of M. d'Angervilliers, whom, at the death of M. le Blanc, he had promoted from the post of Intendant of Paris, to the war department, in 1728. He was a man whose capacity was not equal to his place; he only fulfilled the duties of it by the assistance of some persons of consummate talents whom he

* One million three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds.

had

1743.

had under him, of whose knowledge and labours he reaped all the honour. He was a hard man, but yet had not sufficient firmness to keep the Generals in order, of which there were some fatal instances in the war of 1733. This hardness of temper vented itself only upon the subalterns, whom he did not properly support: and indeed he was not liked by them: he had been exposed to several cabals, especially from the House of Condé, against which he had always kept firm, through the support of his protector. He was worn out, less with fatigue and age, though pretty far advanced in years, than with immoderate libidinousness. He was succeeded by a man, destined less, as it should seem, to fill a department, than to fill up a vacancy at intervals. M. de Breteuil, the person here alluded to, had held the war department in 1723, at the time of M. le Blanc's disgrace. When the exile was recalled, in 1726, a reward of a pension of 10,000 livres ‡ was given to the former; who, at the death of his predecessor, had the mortification to see M. d'Angervilliers put over his head, whose post he at length obtained in 1740.

M. de Breteuil had not in fact the capacity necessary to fill the war department, especially in the troublesome times that came on from the beginning of his promotion. Under Cardinal Dubois, the credit of the women had advanced him from the Intendancy of Limoges to the Ministry; and a motive of false delicacy had determined Cardinal Fleuri in some sort to repair the injustice, which M. de Breteuil pretended to have been done to him, in

‡ Upwards of four hundred pounds.

1743.

not appointing him to succeed immediately M. le Blanc. The conjuncture of an approaching war, had even decided his admission into the Council of State. He might have acquired credit in his post in time of peace; his heart was good, his manners noble, and he took the greatest pleasure possible in being serviceable. With such qualities, he would have been beloved by the troops; but the cruel and disastrous campaign of Bohemia, made him lose all their affection. They imputed their calamities to him, and he died very opportunely, to escape the mortification of seeing himself sacrificed to the clamours that were rising against him on all sides. The Cardinal would have been the more disposed to do this, as he had very little consideration for him, and only kept him upon sufferance. He did not regret him in the least, and his successor, of whom we shall soon speak, was too well calculated to make him be forgotten, even had his merit been greater.

16 Dec.
1741.

The adulators of the Cardinal, eagerly laid hold of the opportunity of the arrival at Paris of Zaid-Effendi, Ambassador from the Porte to Lewis XV. to flatter his vanity, already raised at that instant, by the news of the first successes of his Majesty's arms. They did not fail to compare this event with the arrival of the Queen of Sheba at Jerusalem, to admire more nearly the wisdom of Solomon. The infancy of the King had been amused, twenty years before, with a similar spectacle; upon this occasion, it served to enliven the old-age of his Eminence; two periods of life which resemble each other very much. This was a piece of gallantry contrived for him by M. de Villeneuve, the French Ambassador

1743.

Ambassador at the Porte, and it was the least mark of gratitude he could shew, for his having promoted him from the post of Lieutenant General of the Seneschalry of Marseilles, to this dignity. Fools, who are not acquainted with Court intrigues, who know not that the most feeble springs, often produce the most important movements, could not be persuaded, but that this vain and pompous apparatus, covered only a pretence for negotiations: on the contrary, it furnished merely an opportunity for a treaty of commerce. The Ottoman Nobleman entertained a very numerous household, worthy of Asiatic pomp. He made his entrance with a great deal of éclat. Marshal Noailles, brother to the Countess of Toulouse, was commissioned to attend him. The Ambassador was a man beyond the middle of life, of moderate stature, and a respectable countenance. His deportment was grave; his eye lively and sensible. To a fund of wit uncommon among persons of his nation, he added rather an extensive share of knowledge; his disposition was sociable, and his politeness easy; he was a man calculated to be pleased with France, and his attachment to the country increased in proportion to the knowledge he acquired of it.

Though the cold was very intense upon the day of the ceremony, yet an immense crowd of people, excited by that curiosity, which is the first of men's wants, braved the inclemency of the season. The multitude of slaves, which composed the train of the Ambassador, were dressed after the manner of their nation, that is to say, were in a great measure naked, and, notwithstanding the difference of climates, they were compelled to support

7 Jan;
1742.

1743. the injuries of the air for several hours. The spectators bore them likewise, almost without being sensible of them; especially the women, infinitely delighted with the sight of these fierce Mussulmen, so renowned for their prowess. The matter did not end here, for the residence of these people in the capital, furnished occasion for many adventures of gallantry, beginning with the Ambassador himself. But he being circumspect and secret, his intrigues made no great noise; some of the chief persons of his suite, on the contrary, had some adventures, which caused so much scandal, that he was obliged to keep them in awe.

It is the custom in France, to defray the expences of the Turkish Ambassadors. Zaid-Effendi desired that he might regulate his own expences, and that the money destined for each day should be remitted to him for this purpose. From this circumstance, he was taxed with being inclined to turn something to his own profit, and not without reason, for he was far from being generous. He met with every thing that was agreeable at Paris: the people used to flock to see him eat, as they did the King. It was observed, that he was a philosophic Mussulman, that is, that he did not enslave himself to the letter of his religion; that he was not attached to the trifling customs of it; but drank good wine like a good Christian. His people imitated his example, and were more than once concerned in riots in the taverns. After having resided more than a year in the capital, he quitted it with regret. The King loaded him with presents for the Emperor his master, richer than those he had brought, though they were elegant. He also received

ceived some for himself, and for his train, proportioned to the magnificence of so great a Monarch.

1743.

Zaid Effendi, during his residence at Paris, had an opportunity of seeing one of those spectacles, which human nature presents us with in all parts of the world, but seldom with a degree of pomp calculated to attract the notice of such a stranger. The Queen Dowager of Spain died at Luxembourg, where she was retired; an unfortunate Princess, who having ascended the throne at fifteen years of age, had been obliged to quit it in less than a year, and, preserving nothing more than the tedious etiquette of sovereignty, expiated in wearisome retirement the ambition of her illustrious father. She lived in that palace which had formerly been the scene of the grandeur, festivals, and pleasures, of the Dutchess of Berri, her sister, where she was, at the same time, a witness of the pangs, of the remorse, and of the premature end, which had followed the transitory happiness and criminal debaucheries of that lady. This last recollection, more suitable to the character of the Queen, had had a striking effect upon her, and had led her to an excess of devotion, not less contrary to happiness, nor less capable of embittering life, and hastening the period of it.

16 June.

1743.

If this turn appeared singular in the daughter of the Regent, it seemed much more extraordinary in his son, who, about this time, acquired the title of devotee. Some disgust he had met with, had made him retire from the Council, though he was President of it. His advice was never attended to: he foresaw that this contempt would only increase, and thought it best to prevent his becoming an absolute

K 2 cypher;

1743. cypher; a circumstance which he considered as unavoidable, under a reign, where the women were going to have the sole government. He would leave no room for the nation to think that he was in any way concerned in the mischiefs of that scandalous administration, and, to clear himself from such an imputation in the eyes of the public, he openly renounced every business of the State. In fact, Madame de Mailly had just lost the title of favourite, and been disgraced. She had been supplanted by one of her sisters, not less enterprising than Madame de Vintimille. This ambitious and libidinous woman, availed herself of the fortunate situation she was in, to give as much as possible a loose to the two passions which consumed her. She became the soul of all the intrigues that followed the Cardinal's death, and was the prime mover of all the subsequent events.

The new mistress was the Marchioness de la Tour-nelle, of that same house of Neffe, the Ladies of which, without any patrimony, seemed destined to partake the King's bed. This was at least the fourth of the family who had enjoyed that honour; and Lewis XV. who felt a particular attraction to this family, would willingly have had them all. One of them only resisted him, and this was owing to the firmness of the Marquis de Flavacour, her husband, who threatened that he would have recourse to the most violent means to wash away with her blood the stain of such an injury. She was a beauty of an ingenuous and tender cast, which occasioned the Courtiers, who turn every thing into ridicule, to call her the *Chicken*. Her conduct was answerable to her figure, and furnished no kind of pretence for scandal.

dal. Madame de Mailly, though she was apprized by experience of the danger of introducing her sisters to the King, yet she wanted them to assist her in the troublesome employment of entertaining his Majesty, the most amiable and least amused man in the kingdom. Besides, although Madame de Vintimille had been guilty of atrocious perfidy towards her, yet she had lately met with better treatment from the Dutchess of Lauraguais, the youngest of the family. According to the report of the confidants of the secret pleasures of the King, in a refinement of debauchery, which luxury sometimes inspires to private individuals, Lewis XV. would have wished to experience at once the contrast between their persons and their minds. Madame de Mailly's person has already been described. The Dutchess was very tall, large, and ill made, but of an inviting plumpness. As for the rest, her figure was ordinary; she was fat and merry, but possessed neither accomplishments nor wit to render her agreeable in society; so that although the contrast between her person and that of her sister, who was thin and scraggy, might engage his Majesty for some time, yet the former used to recover her privileges, and the Monarch was even soon disgusted of gratifications that were merely sensual.

It was not the same with the Marchioness de la Tournelle, whose complexion was dazzlingly fair, her face pretty, her shape elegant, and her deportment noble. Her piercing eye struck the Prince, and her spirit of intrigue secured her conquest. Though she had not been much talked of since her widowhood, yet, as soon as she was at Court, she was not without hopes of being taken notice of. She was a woman capable of turning her charms to bet-

1743.

ter advantage than her sisters, and of profiting by their mistakes. Besides, she was guided by the Duke of Richelieu, who was reported to have partaken of her favours, and who, being cloyed with the possession of her, was not sorry to find this occasion of getting rid of her, and of making, as much from motives of disgust, as of gratitude, the King pay for his pleasures: he also began to be ruled by ambition, and was one of those persons who flattered themselves with being able, after the Cardinal, to govern the King. But, not being sufficiently rooted in favour to remove his competitors, without assistance, he was sensible that he stood in need of the influence of the favourite. Madame de Mailly's disposition was not analogous to his own, and that of the Marchioness de la Tournelle was infinitely more suitable to him. He therefore directed all her counsels, and guided all her proceedings. As soon as she had captivated the Monarch, she grew inexorable, to increase his impatience, till she had made her bargain, and obtained all the terms she required. The first was, that Madame de Mailly should be publicly dismissed. The second, that her title of Marchioness of la Tournelle, should be changed to that of Dutches of Chateau-Roux, with the honours and distinctions annexed to that dignity. The third was, that she should have appointments suitable to her rank, and that she should be put in possession of a fortune, capable of placing her above any reverse. Under Lewis XIV. there had been but one single instance of similar favours. Lewis XV. was so deeply in love, that he granted every thing; and the influence of the new mistress became so great, that it was imagined she would acquire an absolute authority

authority over her Royal Slave. There was no species of gallantry which he did not contrive in her favour. It was for her, that the artists exhausted their skill afresh, in ingenious inventions for those charming recesses, the asylum of the pleasures of this fortunate pair. It was for her, that machines were invented, calculated to convey her from one place to another, at those times, and in those situations, which her lover thought required the greatest attentions.

Madame de Mailly was seized with inexpressible grief at the news of her disgrace. This stroke was the more dreadful to her, as her attachment had been sincere. Religion afforded her the only comfort. At that time Father Rénaud, of the Oratory, was celebrated for his preaching. In the void she felt for the loss of her lover, she was endeavouring to become a devotee; she went to hear this orator, who had a fine countenance, an enchanting tone of voice, and an eloquence at once strong and persuasive. These talents must, of necessity, have made him agreeable to her, and she desired to converse with him. He poured the comforts of grace into her afflicted heart, and his zeal awakened repentance in her. Frequent conferences with a director of so persuasive a turn, restored tranquillity to the soul of this Court Magdalen; they instructed her in her duties: this lady, who was formerly seen so magnificently dressed, who was immersed in voluptuousness, and engaged in a perpetual round of pleasure, now frequented the church with assiduity, in a plain habit, and distinguished only from other women by her superior attention, by her modesty, and her tears, as well as by the mildness with which she sometimes endured the

1743. hooting and affronts of an insolent rabble, who considered her as the author of the public calamities *. In a word, she was more admired and respected in her state of humiliation, by persons who know how to appreciate matters properly, than she had ever been in the utmost splendour of her favour.

There was one circumstance that did infinite honour to the Countess of Toulouse, who, in some measure, had introduced Madame de Mailly at Court, which was, that during her exile, she remained constantly a friend to her; that she received her in her house at this period, and kept her in her palace during more than a year. She thus challenged with haughtiness the anger of the King; but she had so great an ascendant over him, that he dared not to disgrace this Princess; and the same weakness that had induced the Monarch to consent to this cruel dismissal of his mistress, prevented him from shewing his dissatisfaction to the Countess, on account of the resentment he felt for her behaviour towards the disgraced favourite; which was an indirect, though palpable censure of his own conduct.

It was not till afterwards that Lewis XV. secured to Madame de Mailly an income of about 40,000 livres †, gave her an hotel in the *Rue St. Thomas du Louvre*, and ordered that her debts, which amounted

* One day the Countess of Mailly coming in to hear Father Rénaud, whom she assiduously followed, after that preacher had got into the pulpit, and had begun his discourse, it occasioned some little disturbance to lead her to the churchwardens pew, where she sat; upon which, an ill-tempered man cried out—*Here's a great deal of fuss for a whore!*—*Since you know her, answered Madame de Mailly, pray to God for her.*

† Upwards of one thousand six hundred pounds.

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1743.

to about 765,000 livres *, should be paid; a sum which, however considerable to the State, that ought not to be put to such an expence, will appear very moderate, when we consider that she had not made any advantage of her greatness; and that, during that period, her income was not more than about 25,000 livres †, which were not nearly adequate to the expence she was obliged to make at Court. The payment of the 765,000 livres was secured upon the revenues of the farms; but, notwithstanding the King's orders, those who were commissioned to distribute the funds, not satisfied with making the creditors wait, defrauded them at last of the greatest part of their money.

In losing the good graces of the King, the favourite lost also those of her mistress, or seemed at least to lose them; for her post of Lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen was taken from her; that is to say, she was removed from her Majesty, at the time when she was becoming more worthy of approaching her, by her repentance, by the regularity of her manners, and by an exemplary piety, perfectly suitable to her Sovereign's inclinations and mode of living. The Marchioness of la Tournelle, on the contrary, succeeded her sister, from that infamous custom, introduced under Lewis XV. for the greater convenience of settling in this manner the objects of his attachment at Court, and thus to increase public scandal, under the pretence of avoiding it. Could any thing in fact be more abominable, than to compel his august consort, to have continually near her person, and

* Near thirty-two thousand pounds.

† About one thousand pounds sterling,

under

1743. under her eye, the object of her contempt and indignation, and to become, in some sort, the protector of her husband's licentiousness, and the accomplice of his irregularities?

The important revolution, of which we have just given the detail, made the Courtiers, the nation, and all Europe, more attentive to what was going to pass, when the King became his own master, by the death of the Cardinal. The very next day he disposed of his Eminence's employments. He gave the post of Grand Almoner to the Queen, to M. de Tavannes; that of First Almoner, which M. de Tavannes had, to the Abbé Fleuri, grand nephew to the Cardinal; the department, and the list of Benefices, to the former Bishop of Mirepoix, the Dauphin's Preceptor; and the Superintendence of the Posts, to M. Amelot, Secretary of State for foreign affairs. As for the rest, he declared that he would have no Prime Minister; that he would govern by himself, and reserve to himself alone, the administration of his kingdom. This intelligence produced a general joy, for it was the object of the wishes of the French. The people usually murmur against the power of a meer subject; they resist a precarious, and borrowed authority; and obey, without reluctance, the natural and legitimate power. We may recollect, that at the death of Mazarin, Lewis XIV. had begun the course of his reign, which was so glorious, till he grew tired of holding the reins of government, and resigned them into the hands of a woman. But the circumstances, and especially the character of the two Princes, were very different. One of them was only twenty-two years of age, and was already animated with that thirst of glory, which attended him during life;

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he had been consulting his strength for some time past, and secretly trying his talents for government: in a word, he had been desirous of obtaining information, and his impatient energy would have urged him to hasten this instant, if it had not presented itself. The other, was already arrived to the age of thirty-three years; he was not under the influence of any strong passion; the splendour of the throne was embarrassing to him; he loved nothing but obscurity, and quiet: a long habit of inaction, had rendered him unfit for business, and his inert disposition, far from inducing him to break his chains, would rather have prompted him to resume others. His first act of sovereignty, was in reality an act of servitude; he was urged to it by Madame de la Tournelle. This new Agnes Sorel, gave him to understand, that it was time he should become master, and have at least the appearance of reigning. It was she, who forcing him away from the effeminacy of his palace, made him put himself at the head of his army in Flanders: it was she, who, making him go through his kingdom, from one frontier to another, carried him into Alsace, to stop the progress of the enemy: it was she, who, at the very moment when they were expelling her from the King's presence, procured him at length the surname of *Bien-aimé* *, granted undoubtedly too soon, and which it had been better for his memory, that he had never borne. It cannot be foreseen to what a height she would have raised the soul of her Royal Slave, if, at the time that she resumed her empire for a moment, she had not soon drawn the glory of it after her into the grave.

Although Lewis XV. in his first enthusiasm, after having settled the hours for his Ministers to do bu-

* Well-beloved.

1743.

ness with him, gave himself up entirely to the care of the State those who knew him well were convinced that this would not last long, and that in a short time he would choose some one from among them, upon whom he would cast a burden too heavy for him. They were even greatly apprehensive for a while that M. de Chauvelin would return. This exile, being sensible that the present opportunity was the only one that could be favourable to his hopes, tried a last effort, to the hazard of which he put all his future fortunes. He compiled a large memorial, in which he went through every part of the late Prime Minister's administration, criticised it from beginning to end, and censured it without reserve. He had still some powerful friends at Court, and contrived the means of getting his memorial put speedily into the hands of his Majesty, who, far from approving, was incensed at it, and intimated a desire that no one should mention M. de Chauvelin to him again. It is supposed that his work, which was full of fire, truth, and genius, would perhaps have succeeded at a later period, if, instead of insulting the still recent ashes of the Cardinal, whom his master had just honoured with flattering and distinguished marks of regret, he had waited till the eyes of the Monarch had been previously opened by others. The eagerness of his friends to serve him, frustrated all their measures, and excluded him for ever; especially as he soon after lost the Dutches of Bourbon, his protectress, and the soul of his party.

This habitual respect of the Pupil for his Tutor, was also prejudicial to Cardinal Tencin, who could not erase from his Majesty's memory the unfavourable impressions he had conceived of him. After having
continued

1743.

continued still for a few years in the Council, he perceived that the influence of men of his profession was over, and withdrew into his diocese, to act the part of a devotee, the only one suitable to his age, his situation, and the circumstances.

There were several other candidates indicated by the public, because they had the honour to approach his Majesty; but some of whom either did not imagine they should acquire any greater degree of influence, or dreaded it.

The four Secretaries of State of that time were M. Amelot, the Count of Maurepas, the Count of Saint-Florentin, and the Count d'Argenson. The first of these had just obtained the Superintendence of the Posts, which was given him less as a favour, than as a place annexed in its nature to the department of foreign affairs. With the Cardinal he had lost every advantage; and, being unable to support himself by his own personal merit, far from entertaining any hopes of promotion, he could not but expect an approaching disgrace. The second, who was the King's friend, and admitted to all his parties of pleasure, delighted the Sovereign with his *bons mots*, and his sallies of wit. He conducted his department, for which he had formed himself from his earliest youth, admirably well; but although he was the oldest member in the Council, he did not pretend to govern the King. Having been at all times a philosopher, he sought after happiness, rather than power. His cousin, though he entertained a better opinion of himself, had not a greater share of ambition. Besides, being less advanced than he, he was not yet one of the Ministry. It was not the same with the last of these Ministers, who, paying his court to the favourite,

1743.

favourite, expected, in return, that she would at least procure him the second place in his Majesty's confidence. She did this service to the Count, but not so unreservedly as he would have wished; for she was obliged to divide her favour. A new competitor had just introduced himself into the Ministry, and he had still a greater claim to the protection of the Marchioness de la Tournelle. This was Marshal Noailles, to whom all the House of Nesle had the greatest obligations. The five sisters had been well received there from their youth, and had made an acquaintance with the Countess of Toulouse, which circumstance was the source of their favour with the King. It would have been to be wished, indeed, that this Nobleman, such as we have before described him—better adapted to peace than war—to council than to action—prudent, œconomical, perfectly acquainted with finance, at the head of which department he had been in the beginning of the reign—that he, who was at once a patriot, a statesman, and a politician—should have succeeded the Cardinal. His would have been almost the same administration continued, but improved in many parts by a more extensive genius. The great length of his life would have allowed him to perfect and complete his projects; and his respectable age would have secured him the veneration of his master; whose infancy, being thus prolonged, might have become the happiness of the nation. It happened otherwise, from the misfortune common to all men, of not knowing themselves; and Marshal Noailles chose to avail himself of the influence of the favourite to become an indifferent General, rather than a great Minister.

A third

1743.

A third person shared the protection of the Marchioness de la Tournelle: this was M. Orry, the Comptroller-General. This post necessarily produces a connection between the person who holds it, and the mistress, unless she should happen to be as disinterested as the Countess de Mailli: but this was an instance not to be paralleled. Her sister, on the contrary, was very fond of money, and consequently saw herself, with great satisfaction, courted by the person who opened at pleasure the treasures of the state. Besides, he was not a man destitute of merit. He was a person of very moderate birth, had been in the army part of his life, and had afterwards followed some other profession: he was already rather advanced in years, when the Cardinal chose to intrust him with the department of the finances. He was admirably well adapted to this post, in which the hardness of his countenance, in the first instance, repulsed that multitude of greedy people, with whom a Comptroller-General is always persecuted. His character was perfectly answerable to his outward appearance; and the first word he uttered, was to refuse what was asked of him. In the course of twelve years that he had managed the public treasure, he had made himself master of the subject, the knowledge of which he was at first deficient in. We have seen, that upon a difficult occurrence he had advised vigorous measures; which were so much the more useful, from his being able to support them with real succours. This, indeed, was his great talent: he had always a fund ready in case of necessity. He has been reproached with acquiring these resources only by extreme severity towards the people, whose interests he always sacrificed to those of the Sovereign.

1743. Sovereign. However this may be, he was certainly the most useful man to the new favourite.

She was convinced of this, by an act of gallantry she received from him in the first instance. She was very fond of Choisy; and the King, eager to please her, was continually improving and embellishing that spot.

After having been employed upon this matter with the Comptroller-General, he had suffered him to withdraw, without speaking to him of an estimate of expences for this place, amounting to about 1,200,000 livres*. His Majesty's natural timidity had prevented him from giving this account immediately into his hand; he was fearful of his remonstrances. This circumstance proves, that the King was very well convinced, that the revenues of the state were not designed for his own personal gratifications; that he was acting wrong, though he knew better, but had not the resolution to do otherwise. M. Orry was scarce gone out, when his Majesty sent him the paper, pretending that he had forgotten to speak to him about it. The Minister read it, and returned: "Sir," said he, "I am surprized at the moderateness of the sum; I reckoned upon a greater one, and I have laid aside 1,500,000 livres† for this purpose." The King, who had hitherto been anxious for fear of some difficulty arising, was charmed with the zeal and complaisance of M. Orry: he immediately communicated it to the Marchioness; and this trifling circumstance brought him into high favour with both of them. He added, moreover, to this temporary adulation, resources

* Fifty thousand pounds.

† Sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds.

which

1743.

which made him be considered as a serviceable man, in the situation of things, when expences were continually increasing. It was necessary to restore the navy and foreign commerce, which had been much neglected, and to put the colonies, and the settlements of the India Company, in a state of defence:—it was necessary to raise fresh armies, to complete the former troops, which were almost reduced to nothing:—it was necessary to support a phantom of an Emperor, deprived of his own dominions, having nothing to pay his troops with, nor even to defray the charges of his household—in a word, living only at the expence of France:—it was necessary to support the auxiliary war, undertaken for the House of Austria, and to prepare for a new one, against Powers, whose league was strengthening itself every day.

Whether from veneration to the memory of Fleuri, or from mistrust of those whom his Majesty might have consulted, or from uncertainty in the choice, Lewis XV. for the campaign of 1743, adhered to the measures already taken. They were not better contrived than the preceding. The same errors were the result of them—the same disunion among the allies—the same reproaches—and consequently misfortunes, losses, and disgraces. Though no war had been declared, except between the Emperor and the Queen of Hungary, and between Spain and England—the last of which was merely maritime—yet all the European Powers had made extraordinary efforts. Germany and Italy alone were covered with ten great armies; five of which were in the last of these kingdoms. That of the Infant Don Philip, before which, even from the beginning of January, the King of

1743. Sardinia had retreated, marching away from his camp of Montmelian, in Piedmont, by Mount Cenis, and the little Mount St. Bernard. Having only need of part of his troops, he had sent the rest to the Austrians, who composed the third army. This extended itself from the Milanese, near to Bologna, and was opposed by that of Count Gages, successor to the Duke of Montemar, who was invested with the command in chief of the Spaniards. In a word, the fifth army was that of Naples, still inactive, but impatient of breaking the neutrality imposed upon them by the English. M. de Voltaire makes mention of a sixth, that of Venice, which was only an army of observation, and of guarantee against the insults of the rest.

February. Such a number of armies produced only the battle of Campo-Santo, between Count Gages and Count Traun, for which *Te Deum* was sung both at Madrid and at Vienna, and which consequently decided nothing. The Duke of Modena, appointed some months after Generalissimo of his Catholic Majesty, had only an empty title, without being able to undertake any thing of importance during the whole campaign. Don Philip and the Marquis de la Mina, masters a second time of Savoy, were not the more advanced; they could not penetrate into Italy, notwithstanding all their efforts, the passes being all well secured. It is the nature of the country which renders it extremely difficult to carry on the war here. On the side of Piedmont there is a rock, which may put a whole army at defiance; and towards Lombardy, all the country is intersected with rivers and canals.

Five principal armies in Germany ravaged also
this

1743.

this unhappy country. Two of them were composed of French troops, and commanded by Generals of that nation; the third was that of the Austrians, led on by Prince Charles; the fourth was that of the English, at the head of whom was the King of England in person, with the Hanoverians; and the last was that of the Dutch, which answered to the army of Naples, in the slowness of it's march, it's inaction, and inutility.

Marshal Belleisle had quitted his cantonment under Egtra since the 2d of January, with the army which he had so fortunately and so skilfully brought away from Prague, and had taken other quarters upon the Naab, from whence he had marched on the 20th, conducting his troops through the Upper Palatinate; and, after having made them take the road of Spire, where they were to cross the Rhine, he had returned to Francfort. Being created, by the King of Spain, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, he found there the collar of the order, in the hands of the Prince of Bavaria, who had taken upon him to invest the Marshal with it himself, and performed the ceremony. This was the highest honour he had to expect; but such a number of titles, accumulated on his person, could not indemnify him for the reception he met with on his arrival at the Court of the Monarch, little calculated for war, who found himself at the eve of a personal quarrel with the Queen of Hungary, and could not but be highly dissatisfied with the author of the project. He received him with a coldness, which was but a melancholy reward for so many labours and fatigues, but which should be the only one given to all those ambitious persons, who sacrifice a whole nation to the

1742.

restless spirit that torments them. He retired into the country, to meditate new schemes, till an opportunity should offer of bringing them to light.

Part of his army resolved itself into that of Marshal Broglio, and the rest into that of Marshal Noailles. The first defended Bavaria; but there being a misunderstanding between him and Count Seckendorff, who then commanded the Bavarians, instead of assisting, they only prejudiced each other. Prince Charles had already collected his troops into winter quarters, when the Imperial troops were still separately cantoned, and in several small posts. This neglect, joined to the mortality which prevailed among the French troops, from their being heaped together among the German stoves, to which they were not accustomed, was the cause of their first misfortunes. The distinct parties were separately beaten. The Marquis of Minutzi was carried off at Erblach, with a corps of six thousand Bavarians; the partisan La-Croix was taken at Pfarkirch, with three free companies, after a most vigorous resistance; the Marquis du Chatelet was attacked in Dingelsingen, by a body of ten thousand troops; he defended himself there, during four-and-twenty hours, with 1,400 men, after which he quitted the place, and crossed the Isere on a bridge of rafts, under the protection of M. Philippes, at the head of fourteen battalions and twelve squadrons. The Prince of Conti, who was at Landaw with 12,000 men, being informed, but too late, that Dingelsingen was surrounded, hastened to its relief, and found it evacuated. In this interval Landaw was surprised, and Brunaw besieged, yet the General of Charles VII. who was posted at Landshut, did not make the least stir

1743.

stir to support them. In the mean while, Count
 Saxe, who was left to himself, and neglected, at Stadt-
 Amhoff, being closely pressed by Prince Lobkowitz,
 who advanced upon him with superior forces, fell
 back upon the Danube. A little before this, Baron
 Steints had penetrated into Bavaria by the Tyrol,
 though he had no more than three thousand Croats,
 and was advancing by rapid marches. The Em-
 peror, finding his Electorate ready to be invaded a
 third time by the enemy, and not thinking himself
 safe at Munich, marched out of it, and retired to
 Augsbourg, an Imperial city. He did not stay there
 long; and, upon quitting it, he had the mortifica-
 tion to see it entered by Colonel Mentzel, at the
 head of his Pandours, who had the brutality to load
 him with insults in the streets: the Emperor took
 refuge in Francfort. Thus Prince Charles, by his
 activity, and by the reciprocal jealousies among the
 allies, after having re-conquered Austria and Bohe-
 mia, made himself also master of all Bavaria.

18 June.

Marshal Broglio, who had been for a long time
 dissatisfied with General Seckendorff, had always
 said and written, even before the campaign, that
 he could not keep Bavaria. He waited at Dona-
 wert the King's orders to bring back his troops upon
 the Rhine, and grew impatient. But his Majesty, to
 secure his return, had dispatched Marshal Noailles
 with 40,000 men. This General crossed the Rhine,
 and immediately detached Count Ségur, at the
 head of 12,000 men, to go and meet Broglio, and
 marched himself towards the Rhine, to observe the
 army of English, Hessians, and Hanoverians, com-
 manded by Earl Stairs, and to be at hand to cover
 Lorraine or Bavaria, according to the motions the

1743.

enemy might make. He found them encamped on the right bank of the river, between Dettingen and Aschaffembourg, where the King of England was just arrived. They were in such a position, that they might have been inclosed, starved, played upon by the artillery of the French, and forced to surrender prisoners. The Marshal formed the plan of doing this; he ordered all the necessary dispositions, took possession of Aschaffembourg, bordered the Rhine with artillery, and placed the pass of Dettingen under a guard of twelve thousand men on this side of a deep ravin. He forbade them to pass this ravin; but his orders were not executed: the troops went over it in his absence; and this single detachment gave battle to forty thousand of the enemy: the action could not be sustained; the French were obliged to give way, and the English had the good fortune to get out of this *cul de sac*, where they must either have perished or surrendered. The greatest misfortune the French experienced in this action, which lasted four hours and a half, was the loss of a number of men of distinction, and brave officers, who, seeing their regiments fly, ranged themselves in line of battle, and chose rather to die honourably, in keeping their ground, than to save themselves by a disgraceful flight. Many of the Household troops especially, and of the Regiment of Guards, perished; twenty-one of them were reckoned to be killed on the spot, and as many dangerously wounded. The Duke of Chartres had a horse killed under him. Count Clermont, though already Abbé of *Saint Germain des prez*, recollecting the example of the famous Bishop of Beauvais, so renowned in history, performed prodigies of valour. The Prince of Dombes
and

1743.

and the Count d'Eu were wounded, as well as the Count d'Harcourt, the Count de Beuvron, and the Duke de Boufflers. The Count de la Motte-Houdancourt, First Gentleman Usher to the Queen, was a long time trampled under the horses feet, and carried off almost dead. The Marquis of Gontaut had his arm broken; the Duke de Rochechouart, First Gentleman of the bed-chamber, having been twice wounded, and still continuing, in the engagement, was killed on the spot. The Marquises de Sabran and de Fleuri, with the Counts d'Estrade and de Rostaing, lost their lives on the field.

"Among the singular events of this day," says M. de Voltaire, "we must not omit the death of a Count of Boufflers, of the family of Remien-court. He was a child between ten and eleven years of age; a canon-ball broke his leg: he received the stroke, saw his leg cut off, and died with equal coolness. So much youth, joined to so much courage, affected all those who were witnesses of his fate.

"The loss was not much more inconsiderable on the side of the English officers. The King of England fought on foot and on horseback; sometimes at the head of the cavalry, sometimes of the infantry. The Duke of Cumberland was wounded by his side; the Duke d'Arenberg, who commanded the Austrians, received a musket-shot in the upper part of his chest: the English lost several General officers. But the action was too unequal. Courage alone was opposed to bravery, numbers, and discipline. At length Marshal Noailles ordered the retreat, which was not executed without confusion. The King of

1743.

“ England dined upon the field of battle, and with-
 “ drew afterwards, without giving time to carry
 “ away all his wounded, about six hundred of which
 “ he left behind, whom Lord Stair recommended to
 “ the generosity of Marshal Noailles. The French
 “ took care of them, as of their own countrymen,
 “ &c.”

In a word, the English thought themselves so happy to have arrived safe and sound at Hanover, that they staid there a long time, and did nothing the rest of the campaign.

Let us take a review of the mistakes that were committed upon this occasion, for the information of posterity, since this is the chief advantage that can be derived from such sanguinary accounts.

Marshal Noailles had, in the first instance, been guilty of neglect, in suffering himself to be forestalled by the English General, whose activity seized upon an advantageous post, which the Marshal had intended to occupy. He repaired this neglect by skilfully availing himself of the circumstances, and posting himself upon the borders of the Rhine, over which he threw two bridges, in order to have a free passage across it, to make himself master of the passes above and below the enemy's camp, cut off their subsistence, and take advantage of the motions made on the other side of the river by the confederate army, which was soon in want of provisions. So far, therefore, the Marshal had the superiority, and remained master of the campaign.

Lord Stair, who was too great a man not to own when he was in the wrong, was sensible of the mistake he had made, in suffering the two bridges to be thrown over the river, and he wished that the King
 of

1743.

of England would have broken up the camp sooner than he did. His Majesty persisted in remaining in his post. The soldier was reduced to half a ration a day. Forage was so scarce, that it was proposed to hamstring the horses, and in a couple of days the army would have been forced to have recourse to this extremity.

In the middle of the night, his Britannic Majesty ordered his army to break up camp in the greatest silence, and hazarded this dangerous and precipitate march, as the only resource he had left. The Count of Noailles was the first who perceived this movement, and sent word to his father: the Marshal rose, and saw the English rushing on their destruction through a narrow way, between a mountain and a river. He made the most skilful dispositions to surround the enemy in the defile through which they must necessarily pass. An unavoidable snare was thus laid for them. If they had been attacked only with the certain advantage of ground, the King of England himself might have been taken prisoner, and the consequences of such a success cannot be ascertained.

After these dispositions, the most prudent that could be made, the General went away, under pretence of examining a ford, in order to push forward an additional number of cavalry, the better to discover the position of the enemy. He contented himself with recommending to the Duke of Grammont, his nephew, Lieutenant General, and Colonel of the French Guards, who commanded in this post, to wait for the favourable moment, and to allow it to come on without precipitating it; after which he left him. It was this capital fault which for ever stained

1743. stained the memory of the Marshal, which rendered him the aversion of so many desolate families, and the derision of the jesters, who ridiculed him in some malicious songs, and fixed a wooden sword to the gate of his hotel, as an emblem of the inutility of his sword upon this occasion.

The Duke de Grammont, carried away by his ardent impetuosity, which would have been moderated by the presence of his uncle, lost all the benefit of these excellent dispositions, and, quitting the advantageous ground upon which he was posted, found himself soon engaged with the whole of the English army, when he thought he had only their rear-guard to engage with. He attacked them in a plain, where it was easy for them to form. The batteries of canon, planted along the Rhine by the Marquis de Valliere, the ablest General officer of artillery at that time, which were calculated to have the greatest effect, became useless, because they would have played upon the French themselves in the confusion.

Some of the regiments of infantry behaved with great bravery, but the regiment of French Guards ran away at the third charge, communicated terror to the rest, and abandoned the cavalry. The Marquis of Puysegur, son of the Marshal of that name, and Colonel of a regiment, was obliged with his own hand to kill some of his men who would not rally, and were crying out; *Let him escape who can.* The King's horse guards, and the carabineers, displayed a greater share of valour than of order and discipline. Fifty *Mousquetaires*, hurried on by their impetuosity, found themselves engaged in the midst of the Scotch Greys, a famous regiment in England, composed of picked men, and well mounted. Crushed by numbers, the *Mousquetaires* were all wounded or taken prisoners.

1743.

prisoners. The soldiers who fled, imagining that the enemy was in pursuit of them, threw themselves into the river, where some of them were drowned. Marshal Noailles came up only in time to be witness of the confusion, and to order a retreat for form sake.

Such a number of accumulated errors committed by the French, were compensated by one capital mistake of the English, which was also acknowledged by Lord Stair *—they ought to have pursued the vanquished army, and, by crossing the Rhine, rendered the victory complete.

In any other country, Marshal Noailles would have run great risques; but he had a powerful patroness with the King, in the Countess of Toulouse, his sister. He could not even attempt to justify himself, because he must then have thrown the blame upon his nephew, or rather, because if he had inculpated his nephew, he would not have exculpated himself. He sustained the general censure of the army with boldness. He could not have said with Scipio; *Let us go and return thanks to the Gods in the Capitol*; but he ascribed to himself the merit of not having given up matters in despair, and of having prevented the mischief from being greater. He imputed the misfortune chiefly to want of discipline,

* The following are the sentiments of Lord Stair upon the matter, which Voltaire professes to have had from himself.

“ The writer of this history, meeting with Lord Stair a few weeks after the battle, took the liberty of asking him, what he thought of the battle of Dettingen? *I think*, said the General, *that you made one mistake there, and we two; your fault was to have crossed the ravine, and not to have waited; our two faults were, first, to have put ourselves in danger of being all cut off; and, secondly, not to have availed ourselves of our victory.*”

and

1743.

and wrote a judicious, eloquent, and instructive letter to his Majesty, to represent the extreme necessity of restoring it.

After this action, several English and French officers went to Francfort, a city which always remained neutral, and treated each other with the same civility as the Generals did. The Emperor set them the example, by receiving with equal complaisance the officers of both nations, who came to pay their court to him. There was not one of them, perhaps, whose condition he did not inwardly envy: he had not wherewithal to subsist his family; no one would make him the least advance, and Marshal Noailles gave him forty thousand crowns*, upon a bill of exchange which he had. He was reduced to the necessity of imploring that same Queen of Hungary, whom he had been upon the point of dethroning: he offered her to renounce all his pretensions to the inheritance of the House of Austria. The Hereditary Prince of Hesse took this negotiation upon himself, and went with the Emperor's proposals to the King of England, who was then at Hanover. King George answered, that he would consult his Parliament. Even this negotiation of the Prince of Hesse, served only to convince Charles VII. that his enemies had conceived the design of taking the empire from him. Deprived of this resource, he took the resolution to declare himself neuter in his own cause; and he asked permission of the Queen of Hungary, that he might leave the remainder of his troops in Swabia, where they should be considered as troops of the Empire. At the same time he of-

† Five thousand pounds.

1743.

ferred to send Marshal Broglio's army back into France. The Queen answered, *that she was not at war with the chief of the Empire, because, according to the arrangement of the Golden Bull, which had been violated by his election, she had not acknowledged him as Emperor; that therefore she would cause his troops to be attacked wherever they should be found; that, however, she would not prevent him from taking a personal refuge upon the territories of the Empire, except upon those of Bavaria.*

The affair of Dettingen contributed only to precipitate the retreat of Marshal Broglio, and to make Charles VII. lose the fortresses he had still remaining. Marshal Broglio having arrived, on the 9th of July, at Wimpfen, upon the Neckar, resigned his army to Count Saxe, under the command of Marshal de Noailles. He had been obliged to leave hostages in the several neutral states through which he had passed, as a security that no hostilities should be committed on his march; a precaution which was very useless, because Prince Charles, with his whole army, followed his troops, as far as the frontiers. Of about 130,000, which had been sent at different times into the Empire, he brought back only 25,000, and, according to some accounts, much less. But all writers agree in their account of the deplorable condition of these unfortunate remains. It is reckoned that these two campaigns cost France at least 80,000 men, not by arms, but by cold, misery, and desertion; and that they put her to the expence of three hundred millions * extraordinary.

Marshal Broglio repaired to Court, where he was ill received. This General, whose bravery and con-

* Twelve million five hundred thousand pounds.

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1743.

duët in Bohemia had been so highly extolled, that he was looked upon as the best General in the kingdom, did not find one friend who was willing, or could venture to speak a word in his favour, and was ordered to retire to his country seat. It was said that this was a satisfaction required by the Emperor—a very cruel piece of injustice, to an officer of seventy-five years of age, who had been engaged in the most difficult war since the memory of man, in which every sort of disgust, of danger, and fatigue, were combined. His brother, the Abbé, who had been a very fashionable man at Court, and was retired to his abbey of *Mont Saint-Michel*, disgusted of the world and of pleasure, appeared in public again upon this occasion, and, after having solicited the Marshal's freedom, became the companion of his disgrace and afflictions, and afterwards returned into his desert, which from that time he never quitted.

23 Aug.

Had there been any justifiable motive for this revenge, it would have afforded but a trifling consolation to Charles VII. insulated in Francfort, and deprived of subjects. The Queen of Hungary had caused them to take the oaths of allegiance to her, and it was in vain that the Emperor protested against this act. A printer of the city of Stadt-Amhoff, having published this protest of his master's, was condemned to be hanged in the public square. This was not the only outrage committed; the Council of Austria, some time after, presented even in Francfort, to the Imperial Dictature, some memorials, in which the election of Charles VII. was declared *absolutely and entirely null*. The new Elector
of

1743.

of Mentz *, High Chancellor of the Empire, who had been raised to this dignity against the Emperor's wishes, used to register these memorials in the records of the Empire. Charles VII. had nothing to do but to complain: his complaints were made in letters; and, to complete his mortification, the King of England, in quality of Elector of Hanover, answered him, that the Queen of Hungary and the Elector of Mentz were in the right. At length, they talked of compelling him to resign the Empire, and to give it up to the Duke of Tuscany.

This proposal, which ought to have recalled to the memory of the French, the conferences of Gertruydenberg, and to have excited them to support a Prince whose misfortunes were owen to his too great confidence in them, served only to discourage them. The Emperor saw himself almost without allies. M. de la Noue, Minister from Lewis XV. at the Diet of the Empire, made a declaration, signifying, that his Majesty was informed of the desire of the Princes to interpose their mediation to put an end to the war in Germany, and that the Emperor and the Queen of Hungary having entered into negotiations, he had sent orders to his troops to return upon the frontiers of his kingdom, inasmuch as they were only auxiliaries; and that he was at the same time prompted to take this step, in order to give the Germanic body a testimony of his attention and inclination for peace.

21 July.

England and Austria were not yet satisfied; they

* His predecessor had died on the 20th of March, and the successor was appointed on the 21st of April following. This Elector is in general less powerful from the number of his troops, than from the authority he derives from his dignity.

1743.

wished to avail themselves of their advantages, and carried their insolence so far, as to insist that Charles VII. should himself apply to have the Grand Duke, his enemy, elected King of the Romans. This was the last act of humiliation: it was the same as when they wanted to oblige Lewis XIV. to concur in expelling his grandson from the throne upon which he had placed him. In the meanwhile, Marshal Noailles, in consequence of the King's declaration, had retired upon the Rhine, and had commissioned Count Saxe to assist Marshal Coigny, who commanded in Alsace, in preventing the Prince from crossing the river.

Then it was that Lewis XV. inspired with a degree of spirit by his mistress, who to much meanness joined some energy and elevation of soul, wished to try his strength with a Prince who was a worthy competitor, and to put himself at the head of his army in Alsace. He had ordered his baggage to be got ready, and wrote word of his intentions to Marshal Noailles, who answered in these express words: "Your affairs are neither in a sufficiently good or bad state, to induce your Majesty to take this step at present."

4 Aug.

Prince Charles had in fact made an attempt to penetrate into France; notwithstanding the continual fire of the opposite army, he had settled himself in an island of the Rhine, near to the ancient Brissac, with about 12,000 men, and the Prince of Waldeck, who commanded under him, had begun another expedition the same day. Meeting with no obstacle, he had already penetrated as far as Rheinweiller with 3,000 grenadiers; but this expedition had not been so fortunate as that of Prince Charles:

1743.

30 Aug.

Charles: he had been warmly repulsed by the Marquis de Balincourt, and his troops had almost all been killed, drowned, or taken prisoners. Besides, Marshal Noailles, having drawn nearer to support Marshal Coigny, who was unable to make head against Prince Charles, the latter found it impossible to carry his project in execution; he was unwilling to hazard the laurels he had acquired in this campaign. Being apprehensive that the river would overflow, he retired into the territory of Brisgow, where he settled in winter quarters, although the English had an army of near 70,000 men to assist him, since they had been joined by the Dutch at Worms, to the number of 20,000.

At the end therefore of the campaign, it appeared, that of all the countries conquered by France for the Emperor, there were no remains; but that France at least was not penetrated. Branaw, and Straubing, had capitulated; the garrison of Egra, upon the river Egra, were reduced to the cruel extremity of surrendering prisoners of war, with the Marquis of Herouville, who commanded them. At length M. de Grandville delivered up Ingolstadt, and obtained a free retreat, not only for himself and his troops, but even for all the French that were in the towns of Bavaria, where he commanded. M. de Voltaire observes, this is the first time that any garrison, in surrendering itself, had obtained the liberty of other troops. It was General Berenclaw who granted this singular and honourable capitulation.

6 Sept.

5 Oct.

There is another anecdote of this campaign, which deserves to be recorded, though less glorious in itself, yet more striking, from the incredible au-

Vol. II.

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1743.

dacity of the author of it, and from the atrocious cruelty that distinguishes it. This circumstance would induce us, indeed, to refer it to the more barbarous ages, if it were not attested by our contemporaries. The anecdote alluded to, is that of Colonel Mentzel, of that partizan, whom good fortune, and brutal valour, had occasioned the Queen of Hungary to raise from the most obscure station, to the highest military honours, and who had been the first person to whom Munich had surrendered. While all the army was employed in watching Prince Charles, and opposing his designs, this partizan had penetrated, at the head of a troop of determined robbers, eager for plunder like himself, beyond the Sarre, and had entered the frontiers of Lorraine. He had the boldness to circulate a print, under the name of declaration or manifesto, addressed, on the 20th of August, to the provinces of Alsace, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and the three Bishoprics: he invited the people, in the name of the Queen of Hungary, to return, as he said, to the obedience of the House of Austria; he threatened the inhabitants who should take arms against her, to hang them up, after having forced them to cut off their own hands, nose, and ears. So savage an instance of brutality excited only contempt: but he did not the less commit all kinds of excesses with impunity; he raised great contributions, and carried off a considerable property. His horrid conduct, contrary to the rights of nations, injurious to the majesty of the Throne, and disgusting from it's inhumanity, should have been punished by his Sovereign; but there are, almost in all armies, some of these irregular troops, who are not

1743.

not subject to the discipline of the rest, and whose utility increases in proportion to their cruelty. This is one of those abuses of war too much tolerated, and which makes human nature shudder.

Fortunately, Mentzel, not being protected by a neighbouring army, to keep the people in awe, was soon obliged to put an end to the course of his rapine, and to retire, in order to avoid the punishment he was threatened with. Lorraine, as well as Alsace, and France, were delivered, and entirely free from enemies. It was thought fortunate to have obtained some trifling advantage on the defensive. After having, in the first instance, carried on an offensive war with so much rapidity, by what means could the French possibly be reduced to this state of humiliation? Various causes have been assigned for this. Voltaire mentions one which was more important, since, according to him, the others were only secondary causes. This originated in the Emperor, who was but indifferently skilled in the art of war, and, being a man of slender talents, was equally incapable either of conceiving or executing great things. "To begin such resolutions," says he, "a man must take them himself, and never did Prince make an important conquest by the assistance of others."

What a train of evils doth one false step in politics draw after it! and how different was the situation of France, since she had deprived the House of Austria of the Imperial Throne! The same jealousy, which had so long lain dormant, from the veil of illusion which Cardinal Fleuri had spread over the European Powers, by the spirit of peace, equity, and moderation, he had upheld for such a length of time, and which

1743.

he had yet given up too soon, was now roused more strongly than ever; and Lewis XV. like his great grandfather, was left with Spain alone, and at the eve of seeing all Europe combined against him.

The King of Sardinia, perceiving the bad success of the arms of France, had at length taken his resolution, and his Ministers, with those of the Queen of Hungary, and of the King of England, had, on the 13th of September, signed a treaty at Worms, by which the Queen ceded to him part of the Vigenasco, the city of Placentia, and the dutchy of Parma, together with all her rights to the marquisate of Final, belonging to the Genoese. The contracting parties, moreover, made arrangements for the continuation of the war, and the King of England obliged himself to keep a strong squadron in the Mediterranean for the common cause. The King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, who had been already neuter, since the treaty of Breslaw, encouraged by this intelligence, went still further, and concluded at Vienna, with the Queen of Hungary, a treaty of alliance, by which the two Powers reciprocally guaranteed their dominions to each other.

20 Nov.

The Dutch, who are not easily put in motion, had at length taken their resolution, upon the idea, that France was exhausted of men and money. One of the principal members of the Republic had asserted, that Lewis XV. could not put more than one hundred thousand men on foot, and that the specie of his kingdom, did not exceed 200,000,000*.

* Between eight and nine millions sterling.

In

1743.

In vain did M. Van Hoey, Ambassador from the States General to the Court of France, who had a nearer and better view of matters, represent to them, that the only part they had to act was that of peace-makers: his advice could not prevail against the Demon of Discord; the English faction got the better, and the Republic furnished their contingent of twenty thousand men. Notwithstanding this, they still kept the same Ambassador at the Court of France, and turned him into ridicule, by printing his dispatches, because they resembled rather the counsels of a Philosopher, than the letters of a Politician. They sent him the unparalleled prohibition, to avoid mixing any of his own reflections with them in future.

At length the cessation of the war, artfully excited by the Cardinal, between Russia and Sweden, before the intended invasion of Bohemia, and which had prevented Russia from espousing the cause of the Queen of Hungary, left that Power henceforward at liberty. Besides, this circumstance deprived France of the assistance of Sweden, exhausted by it's misfortunes, and it's losses, and being in some measure under the influence of it's rival, from whose hands Sweden had received it's King †.

27 June.

† The preliminary articles of this peace between Sweden and Russia, were signed at Abo, on the 27th of June 1743. The election of the Bishop of Lubec to succeed to the throne of Sweden, was stipulated as one of the principal conditions of them, upon which the renunciation of the Duke of Holstein Gottorp, of his pretensions to this Crown, were made to depend, as well as the restitution of part of the conquests made over Sweden by Russia. The treaty was signed at Abo, on the 17th of August, in conformity to these preliminaries.

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1743.

Thus was the storm gathering against France, from the North to the South; and, by the vicissitude of human affairs, that country seemed likely soon to become the scene of the war; and was alarmed for its own safety. But it is at these times especially that a nation becomes most vigorous; and though easily discouraged with the disgraces experienced in a foreign country, yet when it is repulsed, pursued, and pressed back upon itself, it then resumes its spirit, and its superiority.

In the frequent Councils holden during the winter, means were proposed to prevent the misfortune, with which the kingdom was threatened—to detach some allies from the league that was forming—to acquire others—to contrive better-concerted plans—to carry them into execution with more vigour, and greater harmony—and, in a word, by adopting offensive measures, to restore superiority and lustre to his Majesty's arms.

11 Dec.
1742.

Russia, which began to acquire some influence in the affairs of Europe, was to be attended to, not only on account of the connections she might form with the Queen of Hungary, but also from that which she had recently made with England, by a treaty of defensive alliance, concluded at Moscow, between those two Powers. They promised each other mutual assistance, in case either of them were attacked. France wanted to be revenged of his Britannic Majesty, whose ships were continually insulting the French flag, and yet that Power wished to prevent Russia from joining in the quarrel, under the pretence of a declaration of war, which was become unavoidable.

Russia

1743.

Russia was at that time less an object of apprehension, respecting the war with the Emperor, because she had just published a manifesto, in which she complained grievously of the intrigues and machinations of the Marquis de Botta, the Queen of Hungary's Minister at her Court. She accused him of having conspired to excite an insurrection there; but the speedy satisfaction given by that Sovereign, was a proof of the consideration the Queen had for that Power, and of the desire she had of forming a connection with it. No person could more properly be chosen to ward off this stroke than the Marquis de la Chétardie, who had already resided in Russia in the Czar's time, and who being then known to Elizabeth Petrowna, a Princess of a peculiar cast, had previously been in favour with her. It was well known, that she had regretted his departure. He was therefore sent back to Moscow in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. Unfortunately, that Nobleman carried with him into this country a consequential behaviour, and, assuming all the airs of a coxcomb, with the sparkling levity of a man of intrigue, offended the Empress exceedingly by his inconstancy and contempt. He received orders from her to quit the capital in four-and-twenty hours, and the kingdom in a week. To colour this insult done to the Ambassador of France, the Czarina pretended to charge him with the same offence as the Marquis de Botta. His papers were seized, and it was given out, that the plan of an approaching revolution had been found in them. But the circumstance, which proves that the only crime he had been guilty of, was the forgetfulness of the

1739.

1744.

1744,

favours he had received from the Empress, who had treated him with peculiar distinction, is, that she never made any direct complaint to Lewis XV. nor required any satisfaction for the conduct of his Minister, but confined herself to the punishments usually inflicted by women upon similar occasions, in obliging him to return the pledges he had of her affection, as well as the effects of her liberality to him, and even the very marks of honour with which she had decorated him. He was succeeded by a man who had resided a long time in Russia, and was acquainted with the language, but who wanted the talents necessary to establish an influence, or the spirit of intrigue which may be substituted to them.

A new revolution was projecting in the north, to bring back an ally of greater importance than the Czarina, which was the King of Prussia. He began to look with a jealous eye upon the successes of the Queen of Hungary, by which she was becoming more and more formidable; he perceived that if the progress of her arms were not stopped, he should have occasion to fear for Silesia, the conquest of which was not well secured, not being guaranteed to him, according to custom, by the preponderating Powers. This change of disposition in the Monarch was made use of, to induce him to side with the Emperor.

He was animated by the example of the King of Sardinia, one of the Sovereigns who then best understood his own interests. That Prince had aggrandized himself by taking up arms against the father of Maria Theresa; he had gained the Tonnesse, the Valais, part of the Navarrese, and the territorial

1744.

territorial dominion of the fiefs of Langhes; and, by declaring in favour of the daughter, he had just obtained a ratification of these acquisitions, with an increase of them.

The King of Prussia was very capable of imitating such an example: he entered into conferences, but required the most inviolable secrecy. M. Amelot, the Minister for foreign affairs, whom this Monarch did not approve of, or whose indiscretion he feared, was sacrificed to circumstances; for though, to remove the idea of disgrace from this dismissal, the King rewarded him magnificently, yet, as rewards, under his reign, did not always imply real services, it was not less imagined that some private discontent was the cause of this removal. This event furnished another opportunity of displaying the character of this Prince. When he had determined to require M. Amelot to resign, at parting from him after the Council, in order that he might the better ascertain the spot where he intended that his pleasure should be signified to him, he asked him, where he was going to, as if he took particular concern about him. The Minister, having answered, that he was going to Paris, was much surprized to see Count Maurepas, his friend, but especially his wife's friend, who came there in quality of Secretary of State of the department of Paris, to announce the orders of his master. He comforted him, with telling him from the King, that this removal was not for any real motive of dissatisfaction, but merely for political reasons, and perhaps only for a time. His Majesty did in fact reserve to himself the department of foreign affairs for a few months, 'till the circumstances, becoming

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26 April.

1744. less critical and less troublesome through his care, should allow him to resign them into other hands; this entertained the Minister's hopes of returning to Court, and made the public, who did not regret him, apprehend that they should see him reinstated. In reality, it was Marshal Noailles, M. de Chavigny, and M. du Theil, who took care of this department; M. de Chavigny especially, Ambassador to Portugal, who was lately returned, and was considered as the greatest politician in France; who, besides, had deservedly conciliated to himself the esteem of foreigners; who was prudent, cool, and had an uncommon share of discernment. He was chosen to be the manager of the negotiation, which was to be carried on at Francfort. In order to deceive the inquisitiveness of curiosity, he was not invested with any public character, and it was the Count of Baviere who figured with the dignity of Ambassador Extraordinary to the Emperor. The Emissary of France did not want for strong arguments to induce the King of Prussia, who was always ready to determine; but who was not to break out till the time agreed upon. To give the better colour to this second aggression, he seduced again, by his insinuations, some other German Princes.

In Italy, the King of Naples had only remained inactive, so long as to give him time to secure his coasts from a descent, to put his ports in such a state of defence, that he might have nothing to fear from the English, and especially to make his city of Naples strong enough to prevent any English Captain from visiting it in future, and from insulting his Majesty, by presuming to give him orders.

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1744.

He did not consider himself as bound by a compelled neutrality. The success of Don Philip—the desire of contributing to the establishment of a brother, which was a very natural sentiment—the warm solicitations of the Courts of France and Spain—and a strong aversion for the House of Austria—were all so many motives for him to break it. His precautions being taken, he collected a powerful army, and marched in person at the head of his troops, which amounted to 26,000 men. Unfortunately, he was obliged to employ 12,000 of these to guard the frontiers of Calabria from a pestilence, which raged in his dominions, by forming a chain of vast extent. The rest of his army remained upon the frontiers of the Abruzzo, waiting till circumstances would allow him to act, and to assist the Spanish army of the King, his father.

The Genoese, who were already secretly inclined towards France, declared openly for that Power, upon the cession of the Marquisate of Final, which they considered as giving away their own property. They had bought it from the late Emperor, Charles VI. for 1,200,000 livres*. This sum was indeed offered to be returned to them; but they were required to rebuild the castle, which they had demolished, and this would have cost them more. They were, therefore, much offended with this arrangement. Their port might be of great service to the allies, who did not neglect to solicit this republic, and to apply for their assistance.

While the King's Council exhausted all the resources of politics in these fresh negotiations, they

* Fifty thousand pounds.

did

THE PRIVATE LIFE

1744. did not confine themselves to mere idle speculations; they ordered on all sides preparations to be made, calculated to encourage some, to keep others in awe, and to strike terror into all, by displaying the force of France in the most formidable apparatus. The first exertion was made from a quarter where it was the least expected, from the navy; and the fine dispositions settled by the Chief, redounded infinitely to his honour. Unfortunately, the execution was not answerable to the boldness of the project.

An English squadron, under the command of Admiral Mathews, had, for two years past, ruled in the Mediterranean, and insulted all the coasts of Sicily and Provence. It blocked up in the port of Toulon a Spanish squadron, which had served to convey some troops of his Catholic Majesty into Italy. The Spanish squadron could not venture out against a force so much superior; and, during this time of inaction, Don Joseph Navarro, who commanded it, caused his gunners, who were little skilled in their art, to practise in the French school of artillery. The King was incensed at the boldness of the English; he equipped a squadron, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ships; and gave orders to M. de Court, the oldest Lieutenant General in the navy, who commanded it, to join the Spanish squadron; and if Mathews should oppose their passage, to fight him, without regard to numbers. These were much more considerable on the side of the enemy, for in their squadron there were reckoned fifty-two sail, forty-five of which were line of battle ships.

Accordingly, the enemy's Admiral offered to engage. He was drawn up in line of battle, that is
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1744.

to say, running his tack upon a long line, separated into three divisions; composing the van-guard, the center, and the rear-guard. The Spaniards were posted on the van-guard of the squadron of the allies, and were first attacked. They fought with all possible bravery; they suffered much, and bore alone the enemy's fire for three hours. Unfortunately, their Commander was a land officer, destitute of that consummate experience, which is necessary upon such occasions. Besides, their manœuvres could not be executed with so much precision as those of the English. The latter, according to custom, had the advantage of the wind; and what happens constantly cannot be attributed to chance; in this instance it could not be otherwise than the effect of skill and ability. The Spaniards, being deprived of this advantage, their ships evidently drove, and lost, by separating, the proper distance, which, it is well known, ought not to exceed sixty toises. Some of them suffered their line to be broken, two were soon dismasted, and Mathews was at liberty to fall upon the Spanish Admiral with several of his ships. The vessel was called the *Royal Philip*; it mounted one hundred and ten guns, and the crew consisted of about one thousand men. The hope of taking her redoubled the ardour of the English; she was canonaded by five of their ships; the firing was incessant, the deck was swept, and the Commander himself, wounded in two places, was obliged to be carried off. In the mean while, the firing from the lower batteries of the Spaniards was still kept up, and assistance was nearly at hand: Mathews had then recourse to one of those destructive machines, invented by infernal art. He ordered a fireship to advance, which
having

1744.

having nearly reached the *Royal Philip*, some of the officers were talking of striking the flag. The Chevalier de l'Age, a French seaman, whose turn it was to command, from the absence of the Admiral, and the death of his Captain, said to them: *You have then forgotten that I am here!* He immediately ordered to fire upon the fire-ship; they reached her, and she was just going to sink, when the Captain, who saw himself lost, wanted at least to revenge himself in perishing: he pushed towards the *Royal Philip*, setting fire to his matches, but not having time to throw out the grappling-iron, he blew himself up unavailingly in the air, and covered the enemy with his flaming remains, without their receiving any damage from them, any more than from the violent shock of such an explosion. M. de l'Age declared that he saw the bodies of the English Captain, and of some of the workmen, reduced in an instant to a cinder, not being more than two feet long, and become as light as a cork.

M. De Court, who was on board the *Terrible*, in the center, by some singularity in his manœuvre, had not yet engaged: he did not come up till after this event, but had the good fortune to retake the *Poder*, the only Spanish vessel that the English had laid hold of. The English, though several of their vessels were much damaged, and especially the Admiral's ship, remained masters of the sea. One entire division of their armament had not fought, there was a chance of this coming up, and the combined squadrons therefore thought it more prudent to take refuge in the ports of Spain to windward. They did not fail to take the victory to themselves, and in reality it was a very great victory, to have escaped without loss

from so unequal a contest. The victory, indeed, might have been more certain, if the French Commander had, from the beginning, seconded the bravery of the Spaniard. This occasioned complaints from the latter, against which the former recriminated, by accusing him of ingratitude. The complaints of the Spanish Commander were too well founded not to satisfy his Catholic Majesty. M. De Court was banished to his beautiful seat at Gournay, where he forgot his disgrace in the delights of this enchanting spot, and in the entertainments with which he amused the Parisians. He was fourscore years of age, and was no longer fit for such an expedition, which required as much mental as bodily exertion. The Duke of Orleans, to whom he was attached in quality of his First Steward, had procured him the honour of this commission, and prevented the matter being attended with more fatal consequences to him. Certainly, if ever there were reasons for a Court-martial, it was upon this occasion. But the Government began then to display those marks of weakness, which were the peculiar character of Lewis XV. under whom all faults were committed with impunity. The English Government did not conduct itself in the same manner:—Mathews, though conqueror, was impeached, and, after a long trial, was declared incapable of serving. The reason was, that he had not done all he could have done; and that, jealous of the honour which Rear Admiral Lestock might have partaken with him, he had been too precipitate in beginning the attack; that afterwards, being desirous of casting the blame on this inferior officer, he had dismissed and sent him back to London, as being guilty of having stained the honour of the British flag,

1744.

flag, by his inaction. Lestock was honourably acquitted of the charge, although he had not fought; while his accuser, who had fought very bravely, was condemned. This is the solution of that naval paradox, which King George II. died without being able to comprehend, as it is asserted in the Gazette of France, which, contrary to it's usual custom, deals in raillery upon this occasion, which, in fact, it borrows from the English *.

Mathews, who had only kept the sea after the engagement to satisfy the vanity of his nation, entered a little time after into Mahon, to refit his fleet, which was very roughly handled, and thus left France and Spain, for a time, at liberty to reap the advantage of this day, by conveying freely from the coast of Provence, into Italy, ammunition and provisions, wanted for Don Philip's army; but this liberty they did not long enjoy, for, as soon as Mathews appeared again in these latitudes, every thing fled before him. A vigorous effort had been made, which exhausted the navy of the two Powers; and this was an exertion they could not support, more especially with those which they were obliged to make upon land.

Moreover, the engagement off Toulon, if even the French had been beaten, would have fulfilled the intentions of the Ministry, who wished to employ Mathews, and disengage him from returning soon into the ocean. Another more extensive project had been formed, which the best memoirs attribute to Cardinal Tencin. His ambition made him attempt this

* See N° 23, of the 19th of March 1761, of the *Gazette of France*, under the article London.

method of becoming Prime Minister; and, perhaps, had this project been crowned with success, his Majesty might have been so much astonished with his boldness, that he might have given way to him. Knowing that the King was resolved to declare war against Great Britain, and to forestall her hostile intentions, he revived in the Council the scene of Mithridates with his children; he asserted, that the best method of subduing the English, was to make a descent upon their coast, and to raise their alarms for their own country. He represented the Pretender as the phantom that was to excite their fears: he affirmed, with certainty, that this Prince had still many secret adherents in Scotland, in Ireland, and even in England; he described him as a Prince, who, to the usual ardour of his age, and to his resentment of injuries, united the most enterprising and determined courage; he quoted the Pretender's own memorable words, so often repeated; *My head must either fall, or be crowned.* He then unfolded the mode of carrying this project into execution; he weighed the reasons for and against it; he demonstrated, that even supposing the enterprize should fail, it could not turn out very ill, if it were executed with the necessary secrecy and dispatch: and that one great good would at any rate result from it; that it would at least produce a powerful diversion, which would compel his Britannic Majesty to keep back his troops—a circumstance that would proportionally weaken his continental army. This Prelate, though sixty years of age, was full of spirit; his eloquence was persuasive; he astonished and convinced the whole Council, and his plan was adopted.

1744.

Prince Edward, for that was the Pretender's name, set out from Rome on the 9th of January, with the secrecy and diligence of a man born for great enterprises. He concealed his departure from his father, and from a brother; who tenderly loved him, and who would not have suffered him to go without accompanying him. On the 13th he arrived at Genoa, pretending to be a courier from Spain, and attended only by one servant: the next day he embarked for Antibes, and soon arrived at Paris. He had thus passed through the midst of his most formidable enemies under a feigned name, and upon the respectable confidence in the right of nations. His pretended servant was the brother of Cardinal Tencin; a circumstance which confirms that this Prelate was the author of the project. Upon the night of a public rejoicing, given designedly, where the King was to be present, according to the reports that were industriously spread, the young Prince came there also: the tumult was favourable to their interview; and after this private conference, he repaired with the same secrecy to Dunkirk, the place of embarkation.

In the mean while, Count Maurepas, who, in his department, assisted the execution of this grand project, had caused twenty-six ships of the line to be equipped at Brest and at Rochfort with incredible dispatch. It was given out, that the motive for this armament was, the disengaging of the port of Toulon: the English were deceived with regard to the design of the expedition, and the King of England had not received information of it till the 25th of February. Already was the squadron arrived in the

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Channel,

1744.

15 March

Channel, under the command of Count Roquefeuil; upwards of twelve thousand men were embarked on transports, provided with arms and ammunition. Count Saxe was to be at the head of the enterprize, which, being a direct act of hostility, required to be preceded by a formal declaration of war. War was accordingly declared, and his Majesty, having no farther measures to keep, complained in it, that the King of England had infringed the treaty of neutrality, concluded with him, in 1741;—that he did not give him satisfaction for the cruises and captures made by his ships;—that in the preceding year he had personally waged war against him;—that Admiral Mathews had come to attack him, even in the Mediterranean, and provoke him to action;—and lastly, that after all these unjust proceedings, he still demanded satisfaction of him for the arrival of Prince Edward in France.

The Pretender was on board the same vessel as Count Saxe: he beheld for the first time the coasts of his country; but a violent storm drove the fleet back upon the coast of France, not without the loss of several soldiers, who were frightened, and endeavoured to regain the shore. The Prince wanted to make a second attempt with one single ship; his magnanimity seemed to presage to him, that his presence alone would insure him subjects; but he was dissuaded from exposing so precious a life, unassisted, not only to the inconstancy of the elements, but to the fury of his enemies, who, being at length apprized of the plot, had found time to line all their coasts with troops.

The following is the conversation that this young

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hero,

1744.

hero, for such he was at that time, had with Lord Marshall, that faithful subject of the house of Stuart, who, since the expulsion of James II. had constantly resisted all the offers of the Conqueror; who had abandoned all his dignities, and all his fortune, saying, that he was ready to acknowledge a King, but not an usurper; who had for a long time gone through all the Courts of Europe, to endeavour to find succours and means of vengeance for his master. Upon the present critical conjuncture, he repaired to Edward; and, as he joined to courage, the prudence he had acquired from age and experience, he assisted with the rest in checking the impetuosity of the Prince; who, embracing him, said, in the ardour of his enthusiasm: *I want none but you alone; I will go and conquer, or die with my faithful subjects of Scotland.*

"This is the kind of courage," answered his Lordship, "which we expect, and which we are not surprised to find in you; but you are not to employ it uselessly in your cause, for the only consequence of that would be, the sacrificing of your friends to your enemies."

The young hero persisting: "Well," replied the Nobleman, "let us go; but at the instant of our landing, I shall think myself obliged to declare to your subjects, while I recommend the care of your person to them, that neither you nor I are any thing more than two brave adventurers; and that we come alone and without succours. If they believe me, they will not stir a step in your favour. It would be destruction to both of you. They owe their blood and their life to you, only when

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" the sacrifice of them is likely to be of advantage
 " to you *."

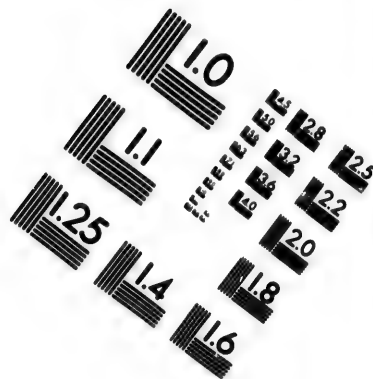
1744.

It was remarked only, that this plot had been conducted with so much art, that King George, when he learned that there was a conspiracy, could never discover the authors of it ; no information could be obtained from the persons who were arrested in London, and the Monarch was left in a state of suspense and mistrust.

It was then a problematical circumstance, and has remained so to this day, whether there were ever any sincere intention of restoring the Pretender to the throne; whether the enterprize were a real, or only a feigned one. If we may judge from the facility with which it was given up, we should be inclined to think that there was little solicitude about the success. On the other hand, can we suppose that the great expences, attendant upon such a project, would have been incurred, merely for the shadow of a descent ? If we consider further the time when the attempt was made, at a season and in a sea where dangerous and unavoidable high winds were to be expected, we can then only consider it as absurd and fallacious. Again, had it not been for some unforeseen accidents, which delayed a number of the transports, and prevented them from reaching the place of rendezvous at the appointed time, several days of favourable weather might have been employed, and there would have been more time than was necessary to effect the purpose. We may therefore conclude, that the armament was made in earnest ; but that the invasion

* We find this interesting anecdote in the *Eulogium of Lord Marshall*, attributed to M. d'Alembert.





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1744. depending upon secrecy, and consequently upon dispatch—that is, upon the instant—when that instant was passed, it was resolved not to hazard a second time such a number of sea and land forces, because then the danger became greater, and the losses irreparable, Lewis XV. might have said with Philip II. *I did not send my fleet to war with the elements.*

Let us here be permitted to make a digression upon a descent of this nature—which is always proposed upon the breaking out of a war with England—which is considered as a very practicable, or rather a very easy matter—and which, at the time we are now writing (in 1778) the French Ministry have been blamed for not having attempted. Let us observe to these censurers, that this expedition is by no means so easy as they imagine; that every thing is in favour of the country invaded; and that the least check must overthrow the best-regulated plan of attack, and render it fatal to the aggressors. A more prudent plan could scarce have been laid than that we have been speaking of. The English troops were at a distance from their island, dispersed in the Netherlands; and the naval forces were equally scattered in the new world, in America, and in the Mediterranean. Great Britain was lulled in the most perfect security; the King of France's squadron was stronger by four or five ships of the line than any maritime forces his rival could bring against him upon this occasion; there was a party formed even in the heart of England, and the Prince, in whose favour the descent was made, might, by his presence alone, draw an army to himself from the midst of his enemies. In a word, secrecy had been so well observed, that the intentions of France were not known
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in London, till the three divisions of the royal army had taken their respective stations. The largest division went towards the coast of Kent, and advanced as far as Dungeness; the second, placed itself between Calais and Boulogne; and the third stood off Dunkirk. But the united efforts of the English nation, making the most of the old guard-ships, and of every thing that was able to bear canon, enabled them, in the course of seven or eight days, to make head against this armament. 1744.

Besides, it must be observed, that nature has given to the rivals of France in the Channel, a great number of ports capable of receiving and protecting the largest ships, while the French have not, from Ushant to Gravelines, one single harbour in which a ship of the line can anchor. We must further observe, that, the reigning winds in these seas being westerly, if the French ships were dismasted at the end of an engagement, they would have no resource left, but to gain the coast of Norway or Denmark. If all these considerations be weighed, we shall see that to attempt a descent in England, on the part of France, is a desperate undertaking; it is playing double or quits, or rather, it is risking the total destruction of our navy for a long time; while the navy of England could only receive a check, which would easily be repaired. The great resolution of replacing a Prince upon the throne, is perhaps the only instance in which a prudent Government can adopt so speculative a project; as upon the present occasion, when hopes were entertained of our being able to establish ourselves upon land, and to effect a lasting revolution in favour of the Pretender.

1744.

Prince Edward, in whose cause we became more warmly interested, returned to Paris, to wait, from the generosity of the King, fresh means to make his pretensions good, and to exert his courage. Count Saxe also repaired to Court, and the King honoured him with the *Baton* of Marshal of France, which he was so worthy to hold. This distinction was not for him, as for many others, the instant of repose; but, on the contrary, the signal of his exploits, and of the prosperity of France. His Majesty, for this purpose, removed all the obstacles that might arise from the difference of religion; for, by an extravagant law in France, a man must be a Catholic, even to have the right of spilling the blood of the enemy, or of lavishing his own in the service of the country.

These vigorous attempts announced already in the Council an energy, that had not been observed there, during the whole ministry of Cardinal Fleuri. They were followed by a resolution still more bold, and which was the real cause of the success of the King's arms, in the two campaigns we are going to enter upon. Madame de la Tournelle (created Dutchesse of Chateau-Roux, and whom we shall henceforward call by that title) in concert with Count d'Argenson, Minister for the War department, had determined the King to put himself at the head of his troops. The secret ambition with which they were both devoured, had prompted them to this. One of them already considered herself as more the Queen, than the Queen herself. She reckoned that she should conciliate the nation to herself by this magnanimous idea—that she should deserve the homage of the army, and the admiration of foreigners. In her exalted imagination, viewing her lover in the
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light of a young hero, she shared in his victories—she ascended his triumphal car along with him—and effaced her infamy, by the splendour of her glory. The other, regardless of these brilliant chimeras, was attentive only to compass his ends, which were, to insinuate himself still more in the good graces of his master, and in his confidence—to increase his influence—to contrive more occasions of making creatures to himself—to render his ministry more commendable—and, in a word, to attribute to himself all the good successes which he would seem to accelerate by his presence, by the prudence of his counsels, and the dispatch of his orders.

They both of them were apprehensive, that the Generals, caring little for the presence of the King, and especially for their own, would dissuade him from this project, as Marshal Noailles had done the year before: they therefore engaged his Majesty to secrecy. It was afterwards discussed, where the King should go; and it was concluded, that the campaign would be more brilliant in Flanders, where every thing was disposed for an offensive war in the Austrian Netherlands; whereas, in Alsace, or towards the Rhine, it was foreseen that a defensive one could only be adopted. It was therefore resolved, that the King should go to Lille: but it was not proper that his Majesty should march, without having fulfilled the usual formality between civilized nations. His declaration of war was therefore published, on the 26th of April, against the Queen of Hungary, nearly at the same time that the King of Naples made his, and when war was likewise declared against the King of Sardinia.

Then Lewis XV. displayed his heroic resolution;
he

THE PRIVATE LIFE

1744. he announced it without parade, and with that simplicity which characterized all his actions. The nation was charmed and affected; they redoubled their zeal and affection for the King. The Dauphin, who was then only fourteen years of age, conjured his august father, that he would permit him to accompany him. The King did not think proper to consent at this time, when this only Prince was not yet married, which he was to be the following winter. His Majesty comforted him for this refusal, by promising, that they should go through the first campaign together.

Independent of the reasons of state against exposing at once two such precious lives, while there was no successor, there was also a reason of decency which militated against it. We have said before, that the Dutches of Chateau-Roux was to attend the King. She was Lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen, who remained at Versailles; so that her duty called upon her to be near her mistress, far from drawing her to the army, from which every consideration ought, on the contrary, to have kept her away. To permit the Dauphin's presence, would have been to corrupt his innocence, by the sight of this adulterous intercourse; for the very mystery observed, to prevent scandal, served only to increase it. The Dutches did not live in the same house with the King; but there were private orders given to all the municipal bodies, to get a house ready for her adjoining to the King's, and to open free communications between them: the workmen were publicly seen piercing the walls, and every person in the city knew for what purpose.

On

1744.

On the 3d of May, the King set out with his confidential Ministers. With regard to foreign affairs, the department of which he had reserved to himself in chief, M. Duthiel, who was the First Clerk, received orders to accompany him with the offices, to preside over them. The Count de St. Florentin was charged, in the absence of his Majesty, not only with the correspondence, but also with the management of all the urgent affairs in the internal part of the kingdom.

The King arrived on the 12th of May at Lille, after having visited the most important places on his frontiers, and given orders for their security. He reviewed his army there, and established, by regulations, a discipline difficult to maintain, but which was, at least, to be carried into execution in his presence. His Aids-de-camp were Messrs. de Meuze, de Richelieu, de Luxembourg, de Boufflers, d'Aumont, d'Ayen, de Soubize, and de Pecquigny. His two Generals were Marshal Noailles, at the head of fourscore thousand men, and Marshal Saxe, who commanded a separate body of forty thousand. This was a very different situation from that in which the army had been the year before, at the death of Cardinal Fleuri. The English might then have entered on the frontiers with advantage. They attempted it when it was no longer time, and the Dutch, having hesitated to join them sooner, had just done it when it was too late. They soon repented of it, and, as early as the 8th of May, being informed of the King's march, and of the motion of his troops, and, being alarmed for their country, the States General deputed Count Wassenaar to him. This Nobleman, who, to the frankness of his nation, joined the urbanity

1744. banity of the French, was the person whom they thought would be most agreeable to his Majesty, as having resided with him before, and having acquired many friends at his Court. He was commissioned to make proposals from them, and to prevail upon the King to suspend his conquests. The King replied to him: "The choice which the States General have made of you, Sir, could not but be perfectly agreeable to me, from the knowledge I have of your personal qualities. All my proceedings towards your Republic, since my accession to the crown, ought to have convinced them, how much I was desirous of keeping up a sincere friendship and a complete harmony with them."

"My inclination for peace hath been long enough known; but the longer I have deferred the declaration of war, the less shall I restrain the effects of it. My Ministers will make a report to me of the commission you are charged with; and, after having communicated it to my allies, I shall acquaint your masters with my last resolves."

Through a spirit of religion, undoubtedly, and, as it were, to invoke the wisdom of Heaven upon his councils, and the blessings of God upon his arms, his Majesty, before he began his military operations, solemnized a mass of the Holy Ghost, and held at the Abbey of Cisoing a Chapter of the Order, at which the Marquis de Bissy had the honour singly to be installed a Knight. This was in reward of his great exploits in Italy, at the pass of Villa Franca, and at Monte Grosse, a rock upon which he fought for seven hours, and took the Marquis of Suza, natural brother of the King of Sardinia, prisoner. Two days after this, Courtray was taken. The next day, the

16 May.

1744.

the Deputy of Holland saw Menin invested, which was a barrier town, defended by the troops of the Republic. Voltaire pretends, that the King displayed here a great deal of personal courage; that he reconnoitred the place several times, and advanced within pistol-shot of the palisade, with Marshal Noailles, Count d'Argenson, and all his Court; that he encouraged the workmen by his liberalities, and hastened the taking of the town, which surrendered after seven days open trenches. This was the first conquest made in his presence. He would not spare it, but ordered the fortifications to be demolished, which were a master-piece of the art of the famous Vauban. He meant at once to avenge himself of the States General, by destroying one of their bulwarks, and to shew his moderation, by putting it out of his power to make use of it against them.

4 June.

The King did not fail to return thanks to God for his triumph. He assisted in Lille at a *Te Deum*, such as had never yet been seen on the frontier. Three Princesses of the blood, whose husbands, brothers, children, or sons-in-law, were fighting in different places for the King, constituted the singular ornament of this ceremony. The Dutchess of Modena had accompanied into Flanders her nephew, the Duke of Chartres, and the Duke of Penthièvre, who was going to be her son-in-law; while the Duke of Modena, her husband, was at the head of the Spaniards in Italy;—the Dutchess of Chartres had followed her husband;—and the Princess of Conti, whose son was then on the Alps, and whose daughter had married the Duke of Chartres, had come with these two Princesses.

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THE PRIVATE LIFE

1744.

In the mean while Ypres was invested. This siege was remarkable in one circumstance—that the Prince of Clermont commanded the chief attacks, and continued, with the Pope's permission, to imbrue his hands in blood; an occupation so contrary to the duties of a minister of the church. The Marquis de Beauvau, a Major General, lost his life at this siege, regretted by the officers, the soldiers, and the learned. He was one of the most curious Antiquaries in Europe; had collected a cabinet of scarce medals, and was, at that time, the only man of his profession who cultivated that branch of literature. Ypres soon capitulated. Fort la Kenoque and Furnes did the same.

25 & 29
June.
21 July.

The army of the Allies beheld this progress without being able to put a stop to it. It was commanded by three men of most extraordinary merit. General Wade, brought up under Marlborough, was at the head of the English; the Duke of Aremberg, trained to arms under Prince Eugene, was the chief of the Germans; and Count Maurice of Nassau, fired with the republican spirit of his ancestors, with their thirst of glory and of liberty, led on the Dutch. The King of England would have done better, to have put himself at the head of his troops on this occasion; the King of France was a rival worthy of him, and by the influence of his rank, he would have prevented the discord between the Generals, which was the principal cause of their inaction; he would especially have stimulated the supineness of the Dutch, who, accustomed to enjoy the sweets and advantages of a peace during thirty years, had consented, in a moment of enthusiasm, to give them up.

It

1744.

5 July.

It cannot be foreseen how far Lewis XV. would have carried the progress of his arms, when he was obliged to suspend it himself, on account of a disagreeable piece of intelligence which he received. He was informed, that Prince Charles had crossed the Rhine; that he had seized upon the lines of Lauterbourg, Weissembourg, and the Lauter; that Marshal Coigny had in vain driven the Austrians from those three posts; that their General had returned with superior forces, had retaken them, and had sent detachments to make incursions as far as in Alsace. This was so much the less credible, as Marshal Coigny, at the head of more than fifty thousand men, was upon these borders, and covered the provinces situated on this side the river;—as Marshal Belleisle, restored to favour, commanded a considerable body upon the Moselle, from whence he protected Lorraine, and the neighbouring countries;—as the Duke of Harcourt, with another army, was at hand to act according to exigencies, and as he might be wanted;—and, as Count Seckendorff was on the other side of the Rhine, under Philipsbourg, with the Bavarians, the Palatines, and the Hessians. It was to this last General, that the others attributed the success of Prince Charles: they laid to his charge, that, instead of having remained under the canon of the fortresses, by which he would have kept General Nadaast's corps, which was opposite to him, in awe, he had retreated; and recrossed the Rhine; had afterwards taken upon himself to defend the banks towards Germerheim and Rhinzabern; had answered to Marshal Coigny for this; and yet had suffered Prince Charles to pass in this very spot; and, though he received

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1744. a reinforcement from the Marshal after this disaster; yet he did not avail himself of the important moment, of the advantage of the ground, and of the ardour of the troops.

If we may credit the memorials of the French officers, the Count had agreed, upon their representations, to march up to the enemy; he afterwards altered his mind, under pretence that he must write to the Emperor about it: the whole Austrian army, to the number of more than 80,000 men, soon threatened Alsace; and some parties carried the alarm towards Lorraine. Mentzel existed no more, but was succeeded by Trenck, not less audacious, not less insolent, and not less cruel. King Stanislaus was obliged to retire, with his Court.

The strange conduct of the Bavarian General—who was, it is true, superseded by another, but who was not punished as he deserved—occasioned certain politicians, who were desirous of accounting for every thing, to suspect that this was an arrangement taken by the King of Prussia, who waited only for a pretence to declare himself. This event, according to these profound and refined speculators, furnished him one of a most specious nature. The necessity to which Lewis XV. was reduced, by this invasion, of withdrawing his assistance from the Emperor, in order to defend his own dominions;—the disagreeable consequences that would result from this to his ally, deprived of every succour;—the apprehension that the Queen of Hungary, by avenging herself of her rival, would endeavour even to enslave the Empire;—the majesty of it's chief, and the dignity of the whole Germanic body, which was exposed;—the honour of the Electors, which was concerned

1744.

turned in supporting the Prince they had chosen ;— these several considerations might have great weight with the King of Prussia, might furnish matter for the most eloquent manifesto, and a pretence for the violences he was meditating.

Whether these secret motives, the obscurity of which cannot be cleared up, really existed—but which we cannot suppose, without shuddering at the frivolous manner in which the King's Council would have hazarded the honour of his arms, and the safety of his subjects, to acquire so inconstant an ally, who, during the course of this war, had changed sides for the third time ;—yet it is certain that the King of Prussia chose this period to declare himself. It was known, that a treaty of defensive alliance had been concluded at Francfort, between Charles VII. the King of Prussia, the Elector Palatine, and the Regency of Hesse Cassel, in order to compel the Queen of Hungary to acknowledge the Emperor, and to restore to him his hereditary dominions. This was the counterpoize of the treaty of Worms.

Accordingly, the King of Prussia sent an army of 80,000 into Bohemia, and one of 22,000 into Moravia ; this was much more than he had engaged to do by the treaty of Francfort, but what he had promised to France.

It was reckoned that this diversion would disengage the kingdom, and force Prince Charles to recross the Rhine with precipitation. In the mean while, not to pay too dear for the complaisance of having suffered him to penetrate into the kingdom, and to make him repent of it, if possible, the King resolved to interrupt the course of his conquests, and to advance in person to the succour of Alsace, with Mar-

1744

shal Noailles, at the head of twenty-six battalions, and thirty-three squadrons. He left Marshal Saxe in Flanders with the rest of his troops, amounting to no more than 45,000 men, to preserve what he had taken, and to resist the irruptions of the enemy, who had more than 70,000. This General answered admirably well the views of his master: he encamped near Courtray, from whence he opposed all the operations of the Allies, intercepted their provisions, avoided a general action with them; but prevented them from laying siege to Lille; and made this beautiful defensive campaign, considered by the most experienced people in the art, as glorious to him, as were all the offensive campaigns which succeeded it.

The Duke of Harcourt, with his corps, had received orders to guard the passes of Pfalzbourg. The King had appointed the rendezvous of his troops at Metz; during this march he had increased the pay and the subsistence of the soldiers, and this attention, by stimulating their zeal, redoubled their affection. All the provinces in this part of France, alarmed that the enemy had crossed the Rhine, and especially with the unfortunate preceding campaigns in Germany, were comforted with the presence of his Majesty, and were filled with joy at the sight of him. This increase of affection on the part of his subjects, was preparing the most beautiful period of the reign of Lewis XV. if he had been able to maintain the memory of it as it deserved, and to fulfil the engagements which it imposed more strictly upon him.

The Monarch arrived on the 4th of August at Metz, gave audience there to Baron Schmettau, Plenipotentiary

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potentiary from the King of Prussia, who came to announce to him the entrance of this new ally into Bohemia. The couriers from Italy brought the most favourable intelligence, and hope seemed to be reviving on all sides, when a misfortune of a more dreadful nature spread consternation from one end of the kingdom to the other.

The King, whose constitution was strengthened by exercise, apparently enjoyed the most perfect health; but in persons of the strongest habit, changes sometimes happen, which from that circumstance are the more violent. His Majesty had inflamed his blood for some years past, by the immoderate use of wine and strong liquors; excesses of another kind, in which he had indulged, had contributed only to increase this inflammatory disposition; the fatigues of the campaign; the heat of the sun, which he had borne for a long time on his head during a march, and which had stricken violently on his thigh, and burnt it up with it's ardour, all these causes aggravated the fever, with which he was seized on the 8th of August, and made it degenerate at once into a malignant and putrid fever. As early as the night of the 14th instant, he was at the point of death.

It was not till the same evening of the 14th of August, that the Queen received a courier from the Duke de Gesvres, who acquainted her with the extreme danger of her august husband. She would have set off immediately, had she not been obliged to apply for money to M. de Villemur, Receiver General of the finances of Paris, who advanced a thousand Louis. This hasty departure gave more credit to the private letters; grief became univer-

1744.

sal; every other concern gave place, in the hearts of the French, to that which they ought to have for so precious a life. The affection for this Prince, the just apprehension of losing him, especially in the present situation of things, suspended all the operations, and the Generals were only attentive to intrench themselves so strongly, that the enemy should not be able to take advantage of the discouragement of the people, or of the misfortune that threatened them. The King was looked upon as dead; this must have been the case, since it was resolved to administer the sacrament to him, and to propose to him to send away the Dutchess of Chateau-roux. It was the Duke of Chartres, who, in quality of first Prince of the blood, forcing the door of his Majesty's chamber, apprized him of the danger he was in, and suggested to him the idea of fulfilling this duty of religion. The Duke de Richelieu, Gentleman of the bed-chamber in waiting, upon this occasion, had taken care not to announce this disagreeable business to his Majesty, which would have set him equally at variance with the august patient and the favourite. His fortunate star induced him to take the most prudent part. The King might recover, by one of those miraculous efforts of nature which sometimes occur; in that case, he foresaw how much his Majesty's self-love would be piqued; he would not therefore run the risque of incurring his resentment, and still less that of the disgraced favourite: if on the contrary the King should die, he had little expectation of influence with the successor: he remained therefore strongly attached to the Dutchess; he prevented, as much as he possibly could, the dying

1744.

ing King from being alarmed by awakening the terrors of his conscience; he carried his boldness so far, as to resist for a long time the Duke of Chartres, 'till at length he was obliged to submit to the respect and superiority of a Prince nearest the crown after the Dauphin. If indeed, we credit private memoirs *, the Prince was obliged to have recourse to the harshest terms, and even to acts of violence: "What," said he to him, in a menacing tone, "shall a servant as thou art, refuse entrance to thy master's nearest relation!" and striking the door immediately with his foot, he forced it open. The noise having raised his Majesty's curiosity, his Highness, who was still agitated, complained of the Duke of Richelieu's insolence, who received orders to withdraw. A momentary humiliation, which was soon repaired by the highest favour.

The Dutches of Chateau-roux, since the King's illness, had never quitted his bedside: her lover, still intoxicated with his passion, was protesting, that he regretted only her and his subjects. The arrival of the Bishop of Soissons, Grand Almoner to his Majesty, who was accompanied by the Duke of Chartres, made the favourite conclude, that her reign was nearly at an end: she withdrew, and the Prelate fulfilled his ministry with all the rigour which his function required. Before he would give the viaticum to the King, he insisted not only that he should banish from his presence the object that was so dear to him, but that he should repair the public scandal, by an expiatory confession

* See *The amours of Zookinifal, King of the Kofrans, a work translated from the Arab, of the traveller Krinchboi.*

1744. made to God, in presence of his Princes, his Courtiers, and his People. The penitent, who was naturally pusillanimous, stricken with religious terrors, at that period of life when the most hardy courage is damped, complied literally with every thing that was required of him. Count d'Argenson, who paid his court to the favourite merely from motives of policy, but who in reality detested her; being now under no apprehensions, was commissioned to break the order to her, and did it with harshness. The Dutchess, greater at this instant than her lover, bore her disgrace with firmness. Unconscious of what she had to suffer upon the road, she entered into the carriage with her sister, the Dutchess of Lauraguais, and departed. She had not yet got clear of the city, when the report of her dismissal being circulated, she was pursued with those hootings, marks of the highest contempt, which a licentious mob never fails to bestow upon those who have usurped an improper authority over them. Besides, she was considered as one of the causes of the illness and approaching death of a Prince, who was then the idol of the nation, and the object of their regret: she was loaded with atrocious insults, and with terrifying menaces; the peasants in the country villages followed her as far as they could, and successively transferred to each other the business of cursing and reviling her. It was by a kind of miracle that she escaped several times being torn to pieces. She was obliged to take infinite precautions: when the carriage came near any village, the Dutchess was forced to stop at the distance of more than half a league from it, from whence she used to send off one of her attendants to procure fresh

1744.

fresh horses, and to reconnoitre the by-roads, endeavouring thus to avoid the fury of the villagers. In these dreadful agitations, she travelled more than fourscore leagues before she reached Paris. On her arrival there, the consternation would have increased, had it not already been extreme. The people in the capital would not have received her better than those in the provinces, had they not been too much absorbed in affliction; they did nothing but run from one church to another, where they came to offer up their vows to God for the preservation of the King; or flock to the post office, to the court of justice, or to the hotels of great noblemen, to inquire into the success of their supplications; and when they learned that the intelligence was becoming still more grievous, they flew back to the temple to importune Heaven with the fervency of their prayers.

The Dauphin had just set off; the Royal Family, and all the Princes, were with the King, and Paris, thus deprived of its master, and of the several supports of the throne, experienced a void, and a desertion unknown before. The Duke of Orleans alone remained there: retired to Sainte Genevieve, he assiduously invoked the patroness of this city; he applauded the pious firmness of his son, which he had encouraged by his letters. Confounded with the multitude at the foot of the shrine, he was distinguished from them only by the bitterness of his tears, and the violence of his sobs. There it was, as is reported, that without design, and in a general and sudden cry of despair, Lewis XV. was proclaimed *Lewis the well-beloved*. This was not

THE PRIVATE LIFE

1744. the voice of flattery: it was not the Courtiers who gave the title, it was the people; they did not imagine, that this surname would ever reach the ears of the expiring Monarch: they decreed it in some measure to his shade, as a tribute of overflowing gratitude. One citizen did not accost another in the street, 'till they had spoken of the fatal event, and at parting, they used mutually to exclaim, *if he should die, it will be for having marched to our assistance!* Even the Dauphin, at an age when a young and superb Prince might easily behold his consolation in the splendor of the Crown, sensible alone to the loss of a father and to the misfortune of the nation, had uttered these affecting words: "Alas! poor people, what will become of you? What resource is there left for you? None but in me—in a child?—O God! have mercy upon this kingdom; have mercy upon us!"

The Queen, whose sensibility was to the last to be put to the severest test, found at Saint Dizier the King of Poland, Stanislaus her father, who had come out of the King's chamber at the instant that his life was despaired of. At length, a fortunate evacuation having taken place, when her Majesty arrived on the 17th at Metz, her august husband began then to be restored to life; she availed herself of the work begun by the Bishop of Soissons; and, though her mortifications and sorrows, joined to age, which was advancing upon her, rendered her less an object of attraction than ever, yet her cares, her zealous good offices, and her caresses, had so much power over the heart of the Monarch, whose disposition was naturally good, and whose gratitude

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was moved in the first instant, that he protested to her, she alone should in future possess all his affections. 1744.

The Dauphin did not experience the same treatment. This is the period in which the King's tenderness for him began to diminish. Being informed of his departure, he had sent him orders to return to Versailles: the concern he took in the health of this only son, furnished the pretence for this conduct; but the disgust of seeing in him a successor arrive, was the real motive of it. The Prince had already reached Verdun, when he met the officer, who was commissioned to signify his Majesty's intentions to him. This circumstance, which would have stopped him upon any other occasion, did not appear to him an obstacle upon this; and, consulting rather the feelings of his heart than the advice of his Governor, he persuaded himself, that he was in a situation where tenderness might dispense with obedience; besides, he was very near his father, and considered him only in a paternal light; he forgot that he was his King, and could not prevail upon himself to go back without having seen him: the Duke de Chatillon followed, rather than he conducted him. On his arrival at Metz, the paternal character prevailing in it's turn, covered the fault of the subject; but as disorders were rise in the country, and that the Dauphin had been seized with a slight fever at his first coming, the King sent him back a few days after. His displeasure fell upon the Governor, who, before his Majesty's return, received orders to retire upon his estate. His Dutchess was a partner in his disgrace, and they were both allowed but a few hours to settle their arrangements and obey.

A speech

1744. A speech made by Lewis XV. to a Nobleman who took notes of the anecdotes of the Court, evinces the real motive of this dismissal, which has improperly given rise to a variety of opinions. The King asked him, if he remembered what had happened four years ago, upon a certain day. The Courtier's memory failing, his Majesty said to him: "Consult your journal, you will there find the disgrace of the Duke of Chatillon. "Truly," added he, "he thought himself already *Maire du Palais* *". It is said, indeed, that the Duke, reckoning upon the death of Lewis XV. had thrown himself at the feet of the Dauphin, and had saluted him King.

The degree of grief that had been felt for the danger the Monarch had been in, was equal to that of the public joy for his recovery; which exceeded all bounds. Paris was nothing more than an immense inclosure full of madmen. The first courier who brought the news of the fortunate crisis that had saved his life, was surrounded, caressed, and almost suffocated by the people. They kissed his horse, and even his boots, and they led him in triumph: persons unknown to each other, cried out at the greatest distance they could see; *the King is recovered!* they congratulated, and embraced reciprocally. All the orders of the State vied with each other in pouring forth transports of gratitude to Heaven. There was not a company of mechanics who did not cause a *Te Deum* to be sung, and during two months France was engaged in no-

* This was of old the first dignity in the kingdom; it's institution is coeval with the Monarchy. These officers gradually inroached upon the regal authority, 'till Pepin, son of Charles Martel, who succeeded his father as *Maire du Palais*, having seized the Crown in 752, put an end to this dignity.

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1744.

thing but rejoicings and festivities, which occasioned an excessive expence. It became necessary to set bounds to these prodigalities. Britany, above all the other provinces, testified it's satisfaction, in a manner the most sensible, the most worthy of the subject, and the most lasting. The States of that Province decreed, that a monument of bronze should be erected in their capital, representing the event. It was accordingly executed by the famous Le Moine, and fixed at Rennes in 1754.

Poets, and Orators, by a laudable emulation, united their efforts to celebrate this most glorious instant of the life of Lewis XV, this triumph of a new species, worthy of Trajan or Antoninus, and to transmit the memory of it to the remotest posterity. It cannot be conceived to what a pitch of extravagance this delirium of composition, joined to patriotic frenzy, was carried among the men of letters. One of them, trusting to the resources of his genius, and to the nature of the subject, every part of which was interesting, was so bold and so licentious as to lay before the reader's eyes the salutary crisis that had saved the King, to describe all the natural effects of it, and even to address in an apostrophe the excrementitious matter first thrown off. It is scarce credible, that this filthy production was eagerly sought after by every one; on any other occasion it would have been rejected from it's disgusting title; though the poet, accustomed to treat a variety of subjects, and to subdue the difficulties and singularities of them, had contrived to ennoble his poem, and make it sublime in many parts. Our surprize will however be lessened, when we are told that this poet was Piron,

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THE PRIVATE LIFE

1744

The King's exclamation, when he was informed for the first time of the excessive transports of the people, made him appear still more worthy of them: *Ab! said he, how pleasing it is to be thus beloved! and what have I done to deserve it?* Previous to this, he had said something, reported at the time, which favoured less of sensibility, but more of heroism; and which shews, that at the point of death, at the last moment, when the chimera of glory with it's illusions disappears, this Monarch, penetrated with a sense of his rigorous duties, had not lost sight of the interests of the State. His intention, when he set out from Flanders, was to have given battle to Prince Charles; but the march of the troops being delayed, had not permitted him to execute his design in person. Marshal Noailles, who had come with his Majesty, was the General, who, as eldest, had taken upon him the command in chief of the army of Alsace. When the King was informed of the junction of the troops, he said to Count d'Argenson, who had not quitted his bedside since the beginning of his illness: *Write word to Marshal Noailles, in my name, that while Louis XIII. was carrying to the grave, the Prince of Condé won a battle.* Unfortunately, Noailles was by no means equal to Condé, and had to do with a competitor less easily beaten than the Spanish General. Prince Charles was not afraid of the Marshal; but the circumstance that changed the face of affairs, was the news he received of the irruption of the King of Prussia into Bohemia. This event obliged him to hasten to the assistance of that kingdom. He had crossed the Rhine in defiance of the French troops: he stole away in the night, and crossed it again, with scarce

24 Aug.

scarce any loss, in the face of a superior army. The Chevalier de Belleisle, who was commissioned to follow him with a strong detachment, could only come up with his rear-guard, which, notwithstanding this, continued it's march in good order. The defenders of Noailles attribute the successful evasion of the enemy, to the delay in the march of the troops, occasioned by the illness of the King—to a marshy and difficult soil, which it was necessary to pass, to get at Prince Charles—and to the excellence of the Prince's precautions in forming his bridges, in securing them, and in carrying away every thing, so that he did not lose even a single magazine. The death of the Prince, who was then expiring, would have given an answer to all this, and would previously have condemned the Marshal. The State never dies, and nothing ought to put a stop to the operations necessary for it's preservation and prosperity. By forcing the march of the troops, the Austrian General would have been forestalled; the same soil which was now favourable, would then have been against him; in a word, he would not have had the time to make all the arrangements he did. Accordingly, the King of Prussia complained grievously, of an enemy being suffered to escape to come upon him. In fact, Prince Charles seemed to have wings; and though he did not arrive time enough to prevent that Monarch from taking Prague, on the 15th of September, yet he contrived, by his movements and marches, to oblige him to withdraw his garrison, on the 27th of November. The King of Prussia was therefore only master of this capital for two months; the French had kept it thirteen; and Prince Charles was twice it's deliverer. In the mean while, after his

1744. his retreat, the Imperial army, meeting with no obstacle, had repassed the Rhine, retaken all Bavaria, and Charles VII. had re-entered his capital.

The King was amused, during his recovery, with the account of the successes of the King of Prussia, of the Emperor, and of the French army under the command of Marshal Coigny retaking all the forest towns, and the anterior Austria; and also of the armies of Italy, where two Princes of his blood were victorious. We have already spoken of the infant Don Philip, another hero of the House of Bourbon; the Prince of Conti, had joined him, who, having served in quality of Lieutenant General in the unfortunate war of Bavaria, though young, had acquired some experience, because that is more quickly learnt from adversity than from prosperity. Besides, he was a Prince of great application, who, in the impetuosity of youth and of pleasures, was animated with that thirst of glory, which enables a man to support the utmost labours, and to overcome every difficulty. He had prepared himself for the rank of General, to which he aspired, by a continual study of ten hours every day, during the winter he had passed at Paris. He was better acquainted with Italy than with his own country; he knew the position of it in all its parts, and in the most minute details; he had compared all the charts of it; he had got the campaigns of Catinat and Vendôme by heart; in a word, he was stocked with all the theoretical knowledge, that could supply the place of practice. He commanded with Don Philip the combined armies of France and Spain. Since the 1st of April, they had made their troops cross the Varo, and had obliged the Piedmontese to retire, and abandon the castles of Aspremont,

1744.

Aspremont, of Utelle, of Nice, of Castel-Nuovo, and afterwards of Montalbano; they had also forced the castle of Villa Franca to surrender, and had made the garrison prisoners of war. The Prince of Conti, having at length made his troops scale the mountains, after many difficulties, laid siege to Demont, took it on the 17th of August, with all it's garrison; opened immediately the trenches before Coni, and was attacked by the King of Sardinia; who, in order to make him abandon this enterprize, gave him and the Spaniards battle under the walls of Coni. The Infant and the French Prince were conquerors; the Piedmontese, roughly handled and beaten, retired in confusion, and left the city to it's own forces: it defended itself three weeks, and would have been forced to surrender in a few days more; but the season being too far advanced, obliged the Princes to raise the siege and to repass the Alps.

30 Sept.

Voltaire pretends, that it was a motive of policy to give this battle; for, if the King of Sardinia had conquered, the French had few resources, and their retreat was difficult; and if he were beaten, the city was not less in a condition to resist in this advanced season, and his retreats were secure. It appears to us, that the historian, while he extols the wisdom of the Monarch's measures, condemns him without intending it: for, on the contrary, being certain of the strength of the place, of the length of time it might hold out, and of tiring the besiegers, it was his business not to hazard his laurels, to act the part of Fabius, and especially to spare the blood of his subjects. He lost near five thousand men and the field of battle. Coni was not alarmed at it; and the historian is obliged to allow, that the severity of the season,

1744. the quantity of snow, and the overflowing of the Stura, were the real causes of the raising of the siege. Such was the end of the campaign in this part, where prodigies of valour had been enacted. The persons who distinguished themselves most, were, at the pass of Villa Franca, the Marquis of Bissi and the Marquis of Campo-Santo; the former at the head of the French, the latter of the Spaniards; and who had borne this name from the battle of Campo-Santo, where he had performed astonishing exploits. Mess. de Mirepoix, d'Argouges, and du Barail, also signalized themselves; as did Mess. du Châtel and de Castelar, at Mount Eleus, and Count Choiseul, commissioned to carry the news of the victory. At the Château-Dauphin, we find a Bailif of Givry, Chief of the enterprize, Colonel Salis, and the Marquis de la Carte, who lost their lives there; the brave Chevert, who, having first got upon the walls of Prague, would also be the first to climb the rock; a Lieutenant-Colonel of Poitou, whose name we regret not to be able to give, who first leaped into the trenches. We read a letter of the celebrated Campo-Santo, who, having not had it in his power to equal the glory of the French upon this occasion, wrote to the Marquis de La Mina, General of the Spanish army under Don Philip: "We shall meet with some opportunities, where we may do as well as the French, for it is impossible to do better."

The Prince of Conti, in his correspondence with the King, making mention of this day, expresses himself in the following terms: "It is one of the most brilliant and sharpest actions that ever was; the troops have displayed in it a degree of valour beyond human nature. The brigade of Poitou, with

1744.

" with M. d'Agenois at their head, has acquired
 " great glory.

" The bravery and presence of mind of M. de
 " Chevert, have been the chief cause of determining
 " the advantage we have gained. I recommend
 " M. de Solemi, and the Chevalier de Modene, to
 " you. La Carte has been slain: your Majesty,
 " who knows the value of friendship, must feel how
 " much his death has affected me."

We must not forget the Marquis of Villemur and
 Count Lautru, conquerors on the day of the barri-
 cades. In a word, at the battle of Coni, among the
 number of wounded were the Marquis de Senne-
 terre, the Marquis de la Force, who died of his
 wounds, the Chevalier de Chauvelin, and the Che-
 valier de Chabannes. The Prince of Conti, in an-
 other letter to the King, expatiates upon the signal
 services of M. de Courten, upon those of M. M. du
 Chayla, de Beaupreau, de Montmorenci, de Stain-
 ville, of the Marquis de Maillebois, Quarter-Master
 General, and of M. de Chauvelin, Adjutant General
 of the army; but as modest as Cæsar, and like him a
 General and a Soldier, he took no notice of two balls
 that had pierced his cuirass, and two horses that
 were killed under him. The Parisian poets did not
 fail to celebrate his great exploits; but they were
 certainly too hasty in calling him the French Hanni-
 bal; no sooner had this surname been given to him,
 than he deserved it no longer, for he had just been re-
 crossing the Alps, without being able to post himself
 there, and, crowned with barren laurels, he brought
 back nothing more than an enfeebled army.

The King of Naples, on his part, seconded by
 Count Gages, had begun the campaign to defend his

1744.

own dominions. About the month of June, Prince Lobkowitz had distributed there a manifesto, in which the Queen of Hungary addressed the people of the two Sicilies as her subjects, to whom she granted her protection. She seemed even to flatter herself with being able to excite an insurrection in Naples; and the Queen, though big with child, had retired to Gayette since the latter end of April, and was prepared to go to Rome, in case of any unfortunate event. The King of Naples had urged this premeditated invasion, as a motive for his declaring war. He had succeeded not only in preventing the enemy from penetrating into his own country, but had also carried the scene of war into the country about Rome: he was situated with the Duke of Modena, who was become Generalissimo of the King of Spain, in Velletri, formerly the capital of the Volscians, and at present the residence of the Deans of the sacred college. He was surprised there in the middle of the night, by a bold attempt of the Austrian General, similar to that which Prince Eugene had made upon Cremona, in 1702, and he would have been taken prisoner, had it not been for the Marquis de l'Hôpital, Ambassador from France, who was with him, who had attended him, and gave him, as well as the Duke of Modena, timely notice. Scarce had they joined their army again, when their palace was invested. General Nonaty entered into that of the Duke of Modena, where he found the Minister of that Prince, Sabatini, who had formerly been in the same regiment with him: "Is it not true," said the Minister to him, "that you give me my life, and "that you will be satisfied with making me a prisoner?" But while they were renewing their former acquaintance,

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acquaintance, the conquerors having also committed the same fault as at Cremona, their triumph was soon at an end: confusion, disorder, and eagerness for plunder, repaired the mischief that had been occasioned by want of vigilance, discipline, and activity: the Germans were driven away in their turn. M. Sabatini, who saw this change from the window, said to the Austrian General: "It is I at present who give you your life, and you are now my prisoner."

Prince Lobkowitz was obliged to retire towards Rome; the King of Naples pursued him—the Pope remained neuter, and this was the part which became him, in quality of the common father of the faithful. Accordingly, the two armies remained each on their side, at one of the gates of Rome; and the Austrian General, as well as the Neapolitan Monarch, under the name of Count Pouzoles, came to kiss the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff, while they caused his countries to be ravaged by their troops.

Such was the situation of affairs, when Lewis XV. desirous of closing the campaign by an important conquest, caused the trenches to be opened before Fribourg, by Marshal Coigny. The King, though still weak, and but just convalescent, repaired to the siege, to accelerate the operations of it. This was the most difficult, and the most laborious, of all the sieges he had undertaken. It was at this expedition that Count Lowendahl, already known among foreigners, and since so serviceable to France, distinguished himself for the first time. He was present there in the character of a volunteer, and was wounded in the head by a musket-shot. The city surrendered after a month's open trenches. There was one particular circumstance in this siege, which was,

1744.

that Count d'Argenson, who, in quality of Minister for the war department, drew up the articles of capitulation, by a pretended concession, which he made a great merit of, with General Damnitz, who defended it, contrived to make the surrender of the castles more certain and more speedy. This good German, having obtained permission to retire into these fortresses, with his sick and wounded, perceived too late that this was a fatal concession, inasmuch as so many superfluous, or useless persons could not but embarrass him, in these confined places, and help to starve him out. His maladroitness was soon the cause of his Sovereign's losing the castles, and of the garrison being obliged to surrender prisoners of war: he learnt, undoubtedly, how to settle his treaties better another time, and especially to mistrust the favours of an enemy. The King conducted himself with the same policy at Fribourg, as at Menin; he caused all the fortifications of the city to be destroyed, being determined to restore it at the peace, or rather, foreseeing that it would be impossible to preserve it for the Emperor, according to the plan that had been so often deranged, and which the unfortunate diversion, made by the King of Prussia, obliged them again to depart from. All the glory of the campaign in Bohemia devolved upon Prince Charles; who, after having passed and repassed the Rhine, in presence of the French army, had crossed the Elbe in face of the Prussian army, so considerably diminished by desertion and sickness, that the King could not venture to give Prince Charles battle, for fear of losing it. He was obliged to keep upon the defensive with this General, and to cover Silesia, into which, notwithstanding, some parties penetrated as far as the gates

1744.

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gates of Breslau. These successes were owen to the junction of another Prince, who having at first connected himself with the King of Prussia, to dispossess the Queen of Hungary of her dominions, and who had afterwards been reconciled to her through his mediation, had not, in this instance, been more scrupulous than he; and, influenced by the subsidies of England, had just formed an alliance with this Princess, to strip the King of Prussia, become a second time his enemy. The King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, the new and interesting actor in this sanguinary tragedy, had made, in the month of May, a secret treaty with the Queen of Hungary, and had accordingly sent a reinforcement of twenty-two thousand men to Prince Charles, which had given him the superiority. The Queen, on her part, had ceded to him a portion of Silesia, which she hoped to retake, and upon which the Elector pretended, that he had some antient claims, which she allowed to be valid, but which would certainly have become very problematical, as soon as that province had no more belonged to the King of Prussia. So many changes in the negotiations, must necessarily increase the vicissitudes of fortune; and accordingly, the successes and disgraces were much balanced during this campaign. If France had failed in England, she had been successful in Flanders. Prince Charles had checked these advantages, by his invasion in Alsace; which the King of Prussia, victorious in Bohemia, had stopped in his turn. This irruption could not be any more than temporary; he grew apprehensive for his own dominions; and the Emperor, taking advantage of the retreat of the Austrians, though he had re-entered Munich, could not still think himself

1744.

entirely safe. It was therefore necessary to think of another campaign, and to make it more decisive in his favour. In order to be at hand to commence hostilities early, arrangements were taken, by consent or by compulsion, to establish winter-quarters in the electorates of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, for 40,000 men, under the command of Marshal Maillebois, restored to favour. The Sovereigns of these countries, even the last, though brother to the Emperor, were neuter, less on account of their dignity of Archbishops, than of their inability. They did not less suffer, as we see, from the ravages of war; and they published one memorial after another, in which they complained of the desolation of their country. They were given to understand, that this step had been taken, the more effectually to remedy these disorders, either by striking a more direct and more sensible blow against the King of England, in his electorate of Hanover, or by containing the King of Prussia in the common cause, through the fear of losing his possessions in this part.

13 Nov.

After having regulated every thing, the King gratified the impatient wishes of the Parisians, and appeared again in his capital. His entrance was a triumph, rendered more affecting by the joy, the acclamations, and the transports of his people, than it was splendid and majestic, from the pomp which attended it; or rather, the people, agitated again with the apprehensions they had had of losing him, seemed, by their eagerness, to endeavour to assure themselves of the existence of the revived Monarch. It was less a conqueror, whose car they surrounded, than a fond father whose knees they embraced. His Majesty staid three days at the palace of the Tuilleries,

1744.

ries, appeared in public as much as he could, and ordered, that there should be a free access to him. To increase his popularity, he dined at the *Hotel de Ville*. This was a token he gave of his gratitude to the inhabitants, in the person of the municipal officers, who represented them. According to custom, these had the honour to wait upon his Majesty. The Provost of the merchants stood behind the King; the High Sheriff at the back of the Dauphin's chair. Voltaire censures, with reason, upon this occasion, the inscriptions and devices fixed up in the public places, which, according to a ridiculous custom, were in Latin, and, instead of expressing the sentiments of a nation, who neither speak nor understand this language, produced only the childish conceits of a pedantic imagination.

In the midst of so many rejoicings, of so many effusions of the sensibility of the French, there was still a void in the heart of Lewis XV. the image of the Dutchess of Chateau-roux was again painted there, in stronger colours than ever: she was the only one to whom the King's illness had been fatal. Condemned, even by her lover, to live in a state of retirement and sorrow, she could not partake of the general festivity; he reproached himself with his weakness, in having dismissed her; he was incensed against the Prelate, who had exacted this from him; and he would willingly have repaired the harshness with which his orders were carried into execution, by recalling her to him with a degree of eclat capable of obliterating the humiliation of her dismissal; but he was prevented by other sentiments. That respect for mankind, which tyrannizes even over

P 4 Majesty,

1744.

Majesty, restrained him; he had just experienced from the part of the Queen, marks of the most tender attachment; the only return she expected, was to reassume her rights. Alas! nature did not act in concert with duty, and he deferred this testimony of his affection, under the pretence of recovering his strength, impaired by the violence of his disorder, and by the medicines he had taken. Those persons who were acquainted with the empire of the passions, soon foresaw what would happen. The Duke de Richelieu, to whom the Monarch had restored his confidence—after having had the dexterity to make himself the victim of his zeal for the favourite, in the most critical conjuncture—was the most interested in reaping the fruits of this manœuvre, by getting her recalled. Since this Nobleman will in future appear in a distinguished character, it is proper that the reader should be made better acquainted with him. Born towards the close of the preceding century, he was now near fifty years of age; tall, handsome, and well made, with an agreeable countenance; a man of extreme gallantry, tinged both with the taste for chivalry that prevailed in the old Court, and with the depraved manners of the Regency. Libidinous pleasures had still the greatest attraction for him, though he was already worn out by a too frequent indulgence in them, and was grown old before his time. Passionately addicted to women, and having been very favourably treated by them, he had had the vanity of wishing to make his conquests public. Some of them had produced a great disturbance, and had drawn upon him some troublesome affairs, which he had carried through with honour; for he supported his boldness and impudence in these matters,

1744.

matters, by his bravery. To a great fund of understanding, he united a chearful disposition; he was entertaining, very rich, but prodigal; a circumstance which made him more greedy of favour, in order that he might constantly repair the breach which profusion made in his finances. Always fortunate, he had succeeded in every thing he had undertaken. Though of a very disproportionate birth, he had married a Princess of the House of Lorraine; and this alliance having drawn a quarrel upon him, served only to heighten his glory in a famous duel, in which he was conqueror. Being appointed Lieutenant General of the province of Languedoc, with the command of it, he had prevailed upon the States, at the commencement of the war, to offer the King, to raise, to clothe, to arm, to equip, to mount, and to support, at their own expence, during the continuance of it, a regiment of dragoons, under the name of *Septimanie*. His Majesty, pleased with the offer, had acknowledged the service of the father, by appointing his son, the Duke de Fronsac, Colonel of the regiment; and besides, had attached the Duke de Richelieu more particularly to himself, by giving him the post of First Gentleman of the bed-chamber, vacant by the death of the Duke de Rochecouart, killed at the battle of Dettingen.

This Courtier, whose heart was accessible to all the passions, and also consumed with the thirst of greatness, was not yet arrived to the pinnacle of honours, and was convinced, that there was not a more certain way to reach the summit of his wishes, than by bringing back to Court the Dutches of Chateau-roux. He removed all the Monarch's scruples;

1744.

scruples; he engaged him in hunting parties, where he secretly contrived opportunities for the deserted mistress to see the King again, and resume her empire over him. At length, the Prince, tired of constraint, complained loudly, that his situation had been abused of, to sully his glory, and force him to treat with indignity a person, whose only fault, with regard to him, was excess of love. He determined to reinstate her in her rank, her titles and her dignities;—he paved the way for her triumph, by avenging her of the Bishop of Soissons, who received an injunction to retire upon his diocese; and of Count d'Argenson, who having carried her the order for her banishment, was commissioned to announce her recall to her:—he asked her from the King, the list of the persons whose punishment she required. It is asserted, that she had put him at the head of it; and that the Minister, seeing there was no reconciliation to be expected with a woman of her stamp, had taken the only step he had to chuse, which was to be beforehand with her, by getting rid of her for ever. We cannot believe this crime, which is more easily spoken and written of, than committed. It is rather probable, that the excess of joy produced a speedy and fatal revolution in the Dutches; or, according to some memoirs, that this revolution was occasioned by her eagerness to fly into the arms of the Monarch, not less impatient than herself, which made her dress herself lightly, bathe, and perfume herself, at an improper season. However this may be, the following epitaph was made for her, which, upon a similar occasion, would have been much more applicable to Madame de Mailly, who was really capable of this magnanimous way of thinking.

'Tis

'Tis not the splendour which high birth can give;

1744.

'Tis this alone which makes my mem'ry live:

Recall'd to life, my King restor'd my name;

Chearful I die, to give him back his fame*.

This loss, equally striking from the time at which it happened, and the circumstances attending it, plunged Lewis XV. into a deep melancholy. If we were to estimate the height of his despair by that of his passion, it must have been extreme. The Dutchesse had regained so powerful an ascendant over her august lover, that she had dictated her terms to him a second time. Beside those already stipulated, to repair the injury she had received in the face of all Europe, by her ignominious expulsion, she had insisted upon a satisfaction equally glorious as it was authentic, of being appointed Superintendant of the household of the future Dauphiness; to which the King had been so inconsiderate as to consent. The bestowing this place of trust and dignity upon her, which implies—in the person designed to fill it, a great deal of reserve and decency, a heart incapable of depravity, a regularity of conduct, an unfulfilled reputation—was to publish scandal, to crown vice, to give an insult to morality, to public chastity, and to the Court of Spain, whose austere etiquette would have been roused into indignation by so infamous a choice. Death prevented this complication of evils; and this act, which would have been so derogatory to every idea of modesty, did not take

* Sans relever l'éclat de mon illustre sang,

Ce trait seul fera vivre à jamais ma mémoire :

Mon Roi revit le jour pour me rendre mon rang,

Et je meurs sans regret pour lui rendre sa gloire.

place;

THE PRIVATE LIFE

1744.

place; the result, however, of the reconciliation of the King with the Dutchess of Chateau-roux, produced still an unfavourable impresson among the people, which evidently diminished their affection. We may recollect the strong expression of the fish-women upon this occasion, whose exclamations are always the voice of the public; *Since he has taken his w—e back, he won't have one person in the whole city of Paris to pray for him!*

The marriage of the Dauphin was, however, seriously talked of. This occasioned some diversion to his Majesty's grief, who moreover began to relax, and to withdraw himself from the affairs of state. He had just got rid of the burden of the department for foreign affairs. It had been first offered to M. de Villeneuve, who had acquired a great deal of reputation during his long and useful embassy at the Port. This modest Courtier, flattered with the King's good-will towards him, but finding himself not possessed of that activity of mind requisite for such a department, excused himself upon the score of his health, and furnished the example, uncommon at Court, of a refusal, which reflected still more honour upon him than his Majesty's choice had done. He declared, that in old age and infirmities a man was no longer fit for administration. In our days, a Minister, in a similar situation*, has had the courage to hold up similar sentiments to Count Maurepas; but, at the same time, he was weak enough not to follow in every particular this example of M. de Villeneuve; and was therefore forced to justify his assertion, by retiring, after having lost, in six months

* M. Taboureau.

time,

time, both the honour which he would have enjoyed by non-compliance, and the reputation he had previously acquired.

1744.

It was the Marquis d'Argenson, the elder brother of the Minister for the war department, who obtained this office. The Count was appointed to that of Superintendent of the Posts. These favours dispensed to the same family, gave them an astonishing degree of influence, which both of them deserved. The Marquis was less brilliant than the other, and the Courtiers, who judged only superficially, used to call him d'Argenson the stupid. He was little calculated to distinguish himself in the post which was intrusted to him, at least in the opinion of those persons, who think there is less virtue than cunning, requisite to conduct the business of it. On the contrary, well known for his probity, he was rather a philosopher than a negotiator; but above all, an excellent citizen. This we may judge of from a work of his, intitled: *Considerations on Government*. Rousseau quotes it in his *Social Contract*, where he extols it in a singular manner; and the circumstance that compleats this encomium is, that Voltaire agrees with him in his *Historical Commentary*, &c. The praises of the latter would, indeed, be suspicious, without the concurrent testimony of the former. Voltaire acknowledges, that this Minister, who was of the same age with himself, and his fellow-student under the Jesuits, had from his earliest years entertained a warm friendship for him; that they had since kept up a great intimacy together; and that the statesman had employed the man of letters, in several important affairs, during the years 1745, 1746, and

18 Nov.

1744. and 1747* ; a circumstance which had obliged him to interrupt, during this interval, the composition of his theatrical pieces. This choice did no great honour to the Count ; for, if he had possessed a proper knowledge of mankind, he would have seen that politics were not the turn of his friend, who had too much vanity, was too eager, and too susceptible of all the passions, to attend with success to objects which require so much temper, coolness, and reserve. A Clerk who is very heavy, very thick, of a very close turn, impenetrable on all sides, and very taciturn, is infinitely preferable.

The negotiation which the Marquis d'Argenson had to treat in his department, was the marriage we have been mentioning. The Bishop of Rennes, Ambassador to Madrid for some years past, respecting the projects formed against the House of Austria, had been at the same time commissioned upon this point. This Ambassador was M. de Vauréal, a Prelate of a good appearance, calculated to make a figure ; having a great degree of understanding, speaking well, cunning, dissembling, indirect, punctilious, mistrustful ; in a word, having all those qualities that are tolerably well suited to the part he was to act, but whose morals, style, and manners were not adapted to his station. It had been a matter of surprize, that the Cardinal had chosen him. Two motives might have concurred in this :

* We must observe, that Count d'Argenson resigned, at the beginning of January 1747 ; he could not therefore employ M. de Voltaire in that year. We must conclude, that he continued to work under his successor, at a series of affairs, with which he had been intrusted by the former.

the most essential was, undoubtedly, to remove to a distance, and in a post of honour, a competitor, whose genius and spirit of intrigue gave umbrage to the old Cardinal; the other was, because the Prelate was avaricious, a circumstance perfectly suitable to that Minister's turn for œconomy. Though it was to be apprehended, that this Ambassador would not succeed in a Court so circumspect as that of Spain, if he was but little noticed by the Grandees, who were previously acquainted with his character; yet was he well received by the Sovereign. Moreover, the interests of France and Spain were too closely connected, to admit of many difficulties, and the alliance was too advantageous not to be accepted. Nothing more remained, than to put the finishing stroke to the agreements, and to have the demand made in form, when the new Secretary of State for foreign affairs entered upon the functions of his office.

All the Noblemen of the first rank were ambitious of being employed upon this occasion. The Duke de Chatillon, Governor to the young Prince, pretended, that it was his right in that quality. His illustrious birth, his rank, his personal merit, though much inferior to the employment he had been charged with, his gravity, and his reserve, made him very fit for such a destination, and peculiarly adapted to the spot where it was to be fulfilled. But he had just been banished, and such a favour was not consistent with that disgrace. In order to soften, as much as possible, so disagreeable a circumstance, which was felt even by the Prince his Pupil, who was much attached to him, the

Bishop

THE PRIVATE LIFE

1744.

Bishop of Rennes, already at Madrid, was invested with a character extraordinary for the ceremony.

Exactly at this period, Versailles was ornamented with the addition of some young Princesses. These were so many companions contrived for the society and amusement of the future Dauphiness, whose age and inclinations might possibly be not suited to the manners of the old Court. The Duke of Chartres had married the sister of the Prince of Conti. She was between eighteen and nineteen years of age, beautiful, well made, graceful, and gay, eager in her pursuit of pleasure, fond of festivals and magnificence, of an agreeable disposition, a refined and delicate cast of wit. She was already beloved, from that affability and popularity, which seem always to have been the distinguishing character of her family. Her husband was equally good, humane, and capable of making himself beloved; his person was handsome, and pleasing; and although he was a very bulky man, yet he repaired this natural defect by his activity. But his temper agreed little with that of the Dutchess: he had not that inclination for pleasure and shew she would have wished. With regard to his understanding, and the cultivation of it, he had given the greatest hopes in his infancy, and it is to be presumed, that they would have been fulfilled, if the second person who had taken upon himself the care of his education, had followed the plan of the first. This Governor had just been banished, nearly at the same time as the Duke of Chartillon; a circumstance which occasioned the greater surprize, as he was a near relation of the Argenfon family, who had brought him forward, and supported him 'till that time. He had made himself so little

little beloved, that there was scarce any one concerned for his misfortune. It does not appear, that even his illustrious Pupil was much affected by it.

The Countess of Toulouse had more recently married her son, the Duke of Penthièvre, to the Princess of Modena, whose father, then a Sovereign without a kingdom, the victim of his attachment to France, was reduced to command the troops of the King of Spain. She was some months younger than the Dutchess of Chartres, beautiful, but less amiable, and less sprightly in her appearance, though perhaps in reality more capable of making her husband happy. The Dutchess, her mother, sister to the Duke of Orleans, and daughter of the Regent, had for a time entertained a hope of marrying her daughter to her nephew, and had carried this point against the Princess of Conti; but the latter, equally active, persevering, and subtle, had brought some fresh springs into play, which had succeeded. The distress of the Duke of Modena was in fact the only motive of this change of alliance: on every other account, his daughter would certainly have been preferred; but we feel a disinclination to contract an alliance with the unfortunate, however wrongfully they suffer, or however interesting their situation. Mademoiselle de Modene was obliged to give her hand to a legitimated Prince. It is true, that under favour of this marriage, the Countess of Toulouse flattered herself, at one time, that the King would reinstate her son, and consequently the sons of the Dutchess du Maine, the Prince of Dombes and Count d'Eu, in all the honours, rank, rights, and prerogatives,

29 Dec.

1744.

which Lewis XIV. had solemnly granted to his children, of which we have seen that they had been authentically deprived under the Regency, and since that time, definitively and totally, at least with regard to their posterity. The singularity of the matter is, that the instigator of this law-suit, was herself the sister of the Duke du Maine and the Count of Toulouse, the Dutcheſs of Bourbon, who being legitimated, as they were, could not lower them without degrading herself. This proves, that kindred among the great is of no consideration, and that the voice of nature cannot prevail against the jealous rage of ambition. The Dutcheſs had seen, with an eye of envy, the favours which the late King had conferred upon her brothers; she had urged the Duke of Bourbon, her son, to expostulate, and, by an abominable piece of perfidy, had forced him, in a manner, to strike the first blow, at the very time that he was upon a party of pleasure at Rambouillet, the seat of the Count of Toulouse, his uncle.

Since that time, his Majesty had granted to the children of the Duke du Maine and the Count of Toulouse, the same honours which their fathers had enjoyed, but by personal brevet, and for life only. This was a matter of little moment; and could only gratify their vanity within their own palaces, or at Versailles; for the Princes of the Blood, the Nobles, the Parliament, and the Nation, had not acquiesced in these distinctions. The House of Est could have wished, that in favour of this alliance, the King had granted special favours, and had displayed all the parade of sovereign power to give them the necessary sanction. A multitude of illustrious

lustrious persons, jealous of transmitting to their descendents their rights and rank uninfringed, were interested in preventing this. The affair threw the Court into extreme agitation. The most prudent of the Courtiers acted underhand; the least circumspect broke out; and were punished with exile. Some of them, though recently laden with the favours of the Monarch, did not think that the importance of etiquette ought to give way to gratitude; for it was scarce possible that the articles of the succession to the Crown, or even the article of the unrestricted quality of the Princes of the blood, should again enter into discussion. The present King did not flatter himself with restoring the work of Lewis XIV. and even had he been inclined to it, such an exertion of power would have been too much for him. Besides, this would have been so much the more dangerous on his part, as he himself, following the example of gallantry pursued by his ancestor, might one day experience the tender sentiments of blind paternity. His Majesty, therefore, confined himself to particular brevets; and the Protesters, notwithstanding the marks of the Sovereign's displeasure, did not the more abstain from their protests, and other conservatory acts in use upon such occasions.

In this situation of affairs, the Dauphiness arrived. The Ambassador of France having a week before demanded her in the usual form, the celebration of the marriage of the Infanta Maria Theresa took place at Madrid on the 18th of December, and was consecrated by the Patriarch of the Indies. The Prince of Asturias wedded his sister in the name of the Dauphin. Three weeks after this, she

1744. was conveyed to the Island of Pheasants, and consigned by the officers of the King of Spain to the Duke de Lauraguais, who was appointed to receive her. Every part of this transaction still calls to our mind the power of the Dutchess of Chateau-roux, who had caused this honour to be conferred upon her brother-in-law; the Dutchess of Lauraguais, her sister, to be appointed attire-woman to the Dauphiness; and the Dutchess of Brancas, her mother, by reason of her age and gravity, Lady of the bed-chamber. The Infanta could not reach Versailles 'till
1745. the 23d of February, where she received a second nuptial benediction from Cardinal Rohan, High Almoner.

This Princess, whose person was not very alluring, had still won the heart of the Dauphin. Whether it were the effect of secret sympathy, or of the ardour of a young Prince, who experienced sensations unknown before, he was charmed with her; and the conquest which was begun at first sight, was completed by the personal qualities of the object. Her sentiments were elevated, her disposition mild and agreeable, and she had a taste for retirement and devotion, perfectly suited to the education given to the Dauphin. Nevertheless, it could not be concealed, that her august husband, notwithstanding his agreeable person, the brilliancy of youth and of rank, and the similarity of their dispositions, had not made the same impression upon her. Perhaps a longer intimacy might have effected more; but Heaven did only shew, as it were, the Dauphiness to the nation, yet sufficiently to carry with her into the tomb their most sincere regrets.

Notwithstanding the calamities of war, the most splendid

1745.

splendid rejoicings took place throughout the kingdom; the nuptials of the presumptive heir to the Crown, were celebrated with extraordinary pomp and expence. Paris, which is infinitely larger and richer than the other capitals, would also surpass them in testimonies of zeal and affection for the Royal Family. Their chief Magistrate was no longer that famous Turgot, so renowned for his magnificence; the Provost of the Merchants was now M. de Bernage, a man of slender abilities, and little calculated for such brilliant ceremonies; yet he conceived, or rather adopted, a happy contrivance. As it was the middle of winter, and that the cold, the rain, and the frost, might have been very prejudicial to the festivals, or have prevented them, he caused to be constructed, in twelve of the most beautiful parts of the city, as many saloons of verdure, which exhibiting to the eye the season of the spring, obliterated the idea of the dreary one that prevailed. These vast inclosures, open on every side, received indiscriminately persons of all ranks; a mixture, which, in these kinds of Saturnalia, is the first promoter of festivity. Refreshments were here incessantly dealt out with profusion; the best musicians were appointed to play there, and the sound of instruments, and of a thousand melodious voices, joined to the murmur of so many fountains pouring forth wine in ample streams, intoxicated an infinite number of people with delight. Foreigners, who flocked there from the most distant countries to partake of these pleasures, could not persuade themselves that France was desolated by a war, as ruinous as it was sanguinary; if they had not previously been acquainted with the situation of the

1745. country, they would have judged it to have been in a state of the most profound and fortunate peace.

The intention of those who urged the city to give these extraordinary spectacles, was not only to make known to Europe the affection of the French for their rulers, but also to give some diversion to the melancholy of Lewis XV. Since the death of the last favourite, the prettiest women of the Court, and even those who were not so, encouraged by the first choice, had made advances without success. Among these, the Dutchess of Rochecouart, who had been a widow about a twelvemonth, distinguished herself; a most charming woman as ever was beheld, or rather a real Hebe. Brought up with the King, with whom she had lived at Rambouillet in a sort of familiarity, she had exerted her utmost efforts to please a Prince, who was then very engaging, even had he not been King, but always in vain. By an energetic comparison, too just, perhaps, on account of the disgusting idea it presents, it was said: *that she was like the horses of the lower stable, always presented, but never accepted.* Through vexation, she married in second nuptials the Count of Brionne, and died a year and a half after. It was thought that among women of a secondary rank, or even among the citizens wives or daughters of the capital, which might be made to pass in review before him without affectation, love might find some fresh opportunity to rivet the fetters of this Royal Slave. For this purpose, there was a ball given at the *Hotel de Ville*, which the King and the new-married couples condescended to honour with their presence. In order the better to answer the design of
the

1745.

the entertainment, all persons were admitted in masks. Lewis XV. and all his Court came there in dresses as singular as they were elegant. He saw with agreeable surprize such a number of beauties assembled. These were none of those painted faces, of those made-up charms supported by art, such as he had been used to see in his palace. It was nature herself, which seemed to have chosen this day to display before his eyes the most perfect of her works. Incharmed with so brilliant a prospect, the Monarch's looks wandered over every object that composed it, without determining, when a fair young woman, with a fine shape, and extremely graceful, fixed him at once. She was dressed in a riding habit, her quiver and bow hung over her shoulders; her hair flowing in ringlets was adorned with jewels; and a charming bosom, half exposed, contributed to inflame desire: *Beautiful huntress*, said his Majesty, *happy are they who are pierced with your darts; the wounds they inflict are surely mortal!*—Then would have been the time to have lanced one of them, to pierce the heart of the King; but whether she knew not who spoke to her—or whether she herself, otherwise engaged, was not flattered with the conquest—or whether, which is more probable, she lost herself, from being too much puffed up with vanity—it is certain that she was so much wanting to herself, as to hasten away without giving any answer, to mix and be undistinguished in the crowd of masks; so that it never was known who this beauty was. An English country dance, much in fashion at that time, performed by a score of young girls, whose lively freshness made them similar to the

1745.

celestial Houris, instantly effaced the impression made by the modern Diana. The King grew inflamed with desire. In the uncertainty of fixing his choice, and masked as they were, his embarrassment could not be removed 'till one of them should unmask. His heart, the void of which only required to be filled, would have eagerly received the image of the first who should have done this. Having waited in vain, he went to one of the extremities of the saloon, where the women of a middling station were placed upon several eminences, disposed in the form of an amphitheatre. Their dress was not in any point inferior to that of the women of high rank, and their countenance moreover indicated a freedom of mirth, which is the criterion of that happiness more easily met with in a state of mediocrity. Such were the reflections which suggested themselves to the mind of his Majesty, while he was looking at them and envying their lot. He was soon roused from them by a mask coming up to tease him: this was the charming Madame d'Etioules. Born among the lowest class of people, she was the daughter of a man named Poisson, a dirty, low, coarse fellow, but who was nevertheless possessed of a certain kind of wit; he was particularly bitter, and in his frankness did not even spare himself. He was butcher of the hospital, called *Les Invalides*, and had got some money in that post. His wife was one of the most shameless women that ever existed, without any kind of restraint or modesty. After having made a traffic of her own charms, she had reckoned upon those of her daughter, and by dint of telling her, that she was a morsel

1745.

moriel fit for a King, had inspired her with the desire of becoming the mistress of the Monarch. This desire had increased to such a degree, that she had neglected no opportunity of gratifying it. She had been particularly attentive to this, since the death of the Dutchess of Chateau-roux; she took care to shew herself at the hunting-parties of Lewis XV.—she sought every opportunity to attract his notice—she tried every manner of placing herself so as to draw his eyes upon her, and did not fail to improve the opportunity of the ball. After having excited, by various allurements, and by her witty discourse, the curiosity of his Majesty, she yielded to his importunities, and unmasked; but at the same time, by a refinement of coquetry, she mixed immediately with the crowd, taking care, however, not to be entirely out of sight. She had then a handkerchief in her hand, and, whether on purpose or by accident, she let it fall. Lewis XV. took it up with eagerness, and, not being able to reach the place where she was, threw it after her, in as polite a manner as possible. It was the signal of the triumph of Madame d'Etioles. A confused murmur was instantly spread over the room, with these words: *the handkerchief is thrown!* and her rivals were all sunk into despair. The King, who had recollected in this beautiful woman, the same whom he had several times already viewed with emotion in his hunting-parties, grew the more fond of her. Two of the subaltern attendants, M. Binet, one of the first *Valets-de-Chambre* of his Majesty, a cousin of Madame d'Etioles, and M. Bridge, one of his grooms, a friend to that Lady, dextrously nourished

1745.

nourished this passion *. The seducing power of her wit, had completed her triumph over her Royal lover: his love was increased to that pitch, that he required only solitude and a confidante. The Duke of Richelieu continued still to enjoy an increase of his master's confidence in these matters—he had always been near him, had observed every circumstance, and was already acquainted with every necessary particular; when the King having opened his heart to him, he took upon himself to contrive the speediest methods of relieving his pain. Madame d'Etiole's rank did not intitle her to make terms, as the women of quality who had gone before her; in order to succeed, she was obliged to conform herself to every will of the Monarch; but she did it, however, with a degree of reserve, calculated to maintain and increase her power. Besides, her wit and her talents furnished her with resources to fill up the vacancy of a passion too soon satiated; she soon subdued the mind of the King, by the wonderful art of keeping him constantly amused, and soon led him on to the end she had in view, which was, to have herself declared his absolute and acknowledged mistress. It was resolved, that she should accompany her august lover in the campaign which he was preparing again to make; but this she did in a kind of incognito.

Madame Poisson was very ill at the time of her daughter's interview with the King. This news prolonged her existence; and when she was certain of

* See the *Letters of the Marchioness of Pompadour*, from 1746 to 1763; not that we look upon them as authentic by any means; but at least they are founded on facts and anecdotes known among persons who lived at that time.

1745.

the happiness of Madame d'Etiolles, in being the declared favourite; she said, she had nothing else to wish for, and expired. With regard to the Lady's husband, he was too deeply smitten with a charming wife, to whom he had been married but a short time, not to be extremely affected with her forsaking of him: the hopes of favour could not extinguish his love, and he found no one capable of indemnifying him for the loss of an object so dear. Incensed, furious, and desperate, he had recourse to tears, reproaches, and imprecations. His unfaithful wife having reason to fear, that in the height of his frenzy her husband would be guilty of some extravagance, he was the first person against whom she exercised her power, by causing him to be banished. This extreme act of cruelty brought a serious illness upon him, which nearly destroyed him; but which, in the end, produced the happy effect of opening his eyes, and he recovered at once his health and peace of mind. Such were the intrigues and events in the interior part of the palace of Versailles during the winter, while the system of politics was preparing others without.

One particular fact happened, which, though of little importance in itself, and at first sight, deserves, however, to be examined and discussed, on account of the consequences which such an example might have produced, or may hereafter draw after it. M. de Jonzac, a Major General, who commanded at Lauterbourg when Prince Charles crossed the Rhine, and who had not kept that important post above an hour upon that occasion, had been tried by a Court-martial: it had been determined, that he might have maintained himself longer in it; that he made a disgraceful capitulation; and consequently he was degraded

1745.

degraded with every striking mark of dishonour. He solicited, employed his family and his protectors to intercede; and before the opening of the campaign, was reinstated. The equity, and still more the goodness and moderation of the King, were extolled. Without examining into the proceedings of the Court-martial, we cannot but think, that in both instances the conduct was blameable. For if M. de Jonfac were really innocent—if he had behaved with that bravery, loyalty, and skill, which his post required—there was not enough done for him; he should have been cleared, as he had been condemned, by his peers; and the ignominy which his judges had endeavoured to cast upon him, should have been retaliated upon them. If, on the contrary, he were really guilty, the act of severity which condemned him should have remained; a severity which is but too seldom exercised, and which becomes more and more necessary, in a nation always disposed to relax its discipline, and to take compassion of the unfortunate, even of those who betray it, and whose condemnation it was before demanding with clamour and animosity.

It is the custom of the French Government, in conformity with the mild manners of the people, to content itself with a slight disgrace, upon occasions when other States would put their General Officers in irons, or have them beheaded. But this slight disgrace—that is to say, exile, and consequently a privation of part of liberty—it is not in the power of the Prince to inflict, before the person, on whom the punishment falls, has been legally condemned; and when once this judgment is passed, if it be in the power of the Sovereign to pardon, he can never exert this pri-

1745.

vilege to the prejudice of the interests of the kingdom, by trusting it's fate a second time to a Commander convicted of being a traitor—of being useless or negligent.

Voltaire pretends, it is inconsistent with equity, that the honour and life of a Commander should depend upon a failure of success. Undoubtedly we do not mean to controvert this opinion. He adds, that it is an act of cruelty, to punish a man who has done to the best of his abilities. This may be admitted, if, declaring himself unfit for the honour intended him, he has declined it, and has at length yielded only to repeated and pressing orders, or to a blind zeal, excited by the love of his country : a circumstance, which may happen in foreign countries, but scarce ever in France. There, it is well known, that all things are carried by contrivance, intrigue, and cabals; and that the person who succeeds, and obtains the appointment, is he who, by dint of repeating his qualifications, and having them proclaimed by his friends, has persuaded Administration that he is most worthy of it; not he, who is esteemed so by the people. In France, therefore, more than in any other kingdom, it is particularly necessary to inflict an exemplary punishment upon rash men of this kind, in order to intimidate others, who, with as little capacity, should have the boldness to aspire to such employments through the means of favour.

There are two things most essentially necessary to carry on war, men and money. It began already to be perceived in France, that the kingdom was deficient in both these articles. It is admitted as a fact, that an easy method of procuring them was proposed in Council, which was, to allow a free exercise of

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of the Protestant religion throughout the nation, or at least partly to annul the revocation of the edict of Nantz. A proposal of this nature, opened in such a place, is the first instance in which we can evidently observe the influence of philosophy upon all the orders of the State, and upon matters, in which hitherto it had never interfered. Montesquieu, in his *Lettres Persannes*, is the first person who hath laid the foundation of this revolution. By philosophy, we mean that boldness which puts us above all prejudice in dogmatic matters, in order to attend to and follow reason alone, as in the exercise of the moral virtues, humanity should always be the first motive of our actions. These two tutelary deities of mankind, were in this point equally in concert with politics.

However extensive and populous France may be, the great losses she had suffered in a war of three years and a half, had destroyed a considerable number of her men. The new recruits had not been raised without great difficulties, since, in default of single men, they were obliged to take married people, even such as had been married for some years. The soldiers, who had been furnished by the several provinces, were, for the most part, below the usual standard; were too young, and so feeble, that many of them died before they had joined the corps or garrisons for which they were destined. The old regiments were melted down; and retained nothing but their name. There were scarce one hundred men in each of them, who had seen any thing of action, or who were capable of training the new-comers in the handling of their arms, in discipline and military labours, and to inspire them with what is called the spirit of the

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the corps. To all appearances, the war would be long and bloody: the new troops could not be depended upon 'till after they had passed three years in some of the garrisons. It was necessary, in the mean time, to complete the several corps, and to replace those that were draughted every year from the garrisons, for the service of the field. The number of peasants, among whom the recruits were raised, was decreased in the villages; the impossibility of paying the taxes, and poverty, had forced multitudes of them, for several years past, to quit their cottages, and the cultivation of their lands, and even to fly their country; a circumstance which had necessarily occasioned a diminution in the King's revenues. It was an essential point to remedy these evils as soon as possible, and the readiest way to do this, was surely to endeavour to procure new inhabitants, which might become a resource for the State, either by furnishing men, or by contributing to the expences: it was natural to prefer those persons, who by their birth or origin were attached to the nation itself, and who bore in their hearts that love of their own country, which seems to be born with all men, or that secret inclination which children usually have for the land of their fathers. The Protestants in general were in possession of all these qualities: besides, their residence in foreign countries had rendered them more industrious, more skillful in trade, more opulent, and even more tractable, so that they were consequently very fit to make a kingdom flourish. It was also a piece of justice to repair the misfortunes of which they had been the victims, by giving them the liberty of returning into France. The double benefit would have been effected, of procuring subjects to

1745. the King, and of drawing them from the foreign Powers which had enriched themselves with them, especially England and Holland, at that time our enemies.

Other motives pleaded in favour of the edict proposed. Even with regard to those refugees who would not have returned, it was an advantage to extinguish, or at least to diminish, their hatred for a barbarous mother, who had treated them so cruelly, in case of any invasion concerted by us, either in Great Britain for the Pretender's sake, or in the United Provinces. In a word, it would have been a prudent step to conciliate the minds of those, who having remained, or being concealed in France, were wishing the destruction of their country; and who, at all times amounting to several millions, being encouraged underhand by our enemies, might excite seditions, revolts, and perhaps a civil war.

These powerful considerations could not prevail against the fears of the Clergy, whose fanaticism appeared then more dangerous and more formidable. It was necessary that such a project should be proposed several times before it could be adopted, and it was a great step gained to have ventured to introduce it. The subject was afterwards resumed in the war of the year 1750, and during the present war we have seen the scheme upon the point of being carried into execution; but this fortunate day is still remote*.

* In a preceding note, we have seen, that the Parliament themselves solicited a legal establishment for the Protestants in France; but it has been signified to them, to abstain from this till further orders.

1745.

A singular adventure happened at this period, which, though perhaps meerly the effect of imprudence on one part, and of boldness on the other, furnished ample matter for the speculations of politicians, always inclined to discover some mystery in every thing. This was the surprizing and the carrying off of Marshal Belleisle and his brother. When the French troops were got into their quarters, instead of returning to Paris, they set off with a numerous retinue. The Marshal was said to be charged with some negotiations with the northern Powers, relative to the league of Francfort. They first went to the Emperor; and crossing the country from thence to go to Berlin, as they were passing over a small territory, dependent upon the electorate of Hanover, near Elbingerode, they were taken and conducted to England, where they were detained till the month of August 1745. What was the object upon which they were sent? Were they lawfully made prisoners? Why were they not claimed in as strong a manner as they ought to have been? Was this a contrivance for some secret purpose? These were the questions which were agitated at that time, and the discussion of which cannot but be instructive and interesting.

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1744.

It was said at the time, that Marshal Belleisle was going to concert with the King of Prussia the operations of the ensuing campaign;—that he had been pitched upon in preference for this purpose, because the war which was carrying on, being in some sort prompted by him, he considered himself as bound in honour to bring France through it with glory; and because, as we have before seen, he was well known to and much esteemed by the Monarch, whose dis-

1745.

content it was necessary to soften, and to prevent his anxiety. He complained, indeed, that two faults had been committed; the first, in having suffered Prince Charles quietly to repass the Rhine; and the second, not to have pursued him, at least, on his march towards Prague, and thus have placed him between two fires; this might have effected the destruction of the Austrian army, or would have enabled his troops, far from being obliged to retreat, to preserve his conquests, and to undertake new ones. It was well known that the King of Prussia, though exact in the observance of his treaties, easily availed himself of the first motive for breaking them, when they did not turn out to his advantage; and it was already feared, that he might be dissatisfied with the last treaty he had entered into. His precipitate departure from Berlin for his army—which capital he had just quitted, precisely at the time when Marshal Belleisle was coming to it, and when this was publicly talked of—gave reason to think, that he wished to avoid entering into any kind of conference, and redoubled the suspicions of his defection.

However this may be, the French Minister was stopped for want of passports, and under pretence of the war declared by the King his master against the King of England, in whose electorate he was. But the King of Prussia has in all these countries, to keep up the communication between his dominions, post-offices, which, by a convention settled among the Princes of Germany, are always considered as neutral and inviolable. Marshal Belleisle was, moreover, a Prince of the empire; he was sent to the Emperor, and to the King of Prussia. This act was, therefore, a violation of the right of nations, of the prerogatives

1745.

prerogatives of Ambassadors, and of the constitution of Germany. In other times, the Elector of Hanover would have been called to the ban of the Empire, for this insult against its Chief, in the person of a negotiator sent to his Imperial Majesty, with whom King George was not at war. Neither was he at war with the King of Prussia, who did not seem properly to resent this affront, which fell partly upon him. Charles VII. could not punish an indirect outrage, when he had so many personal ones to resent, against which he had no resource left but to complain. In a word, France did not exert herself upon this occasion, as the importance of the grievance required. She went so far as to offer to consider the Marshal as a prisoner of war, and to pay his, as well as his brother's ransom. According to the cartel settled at Francfort, between the two crowns, on the 18th of June 1743, the ransom of a Marshal of France was 50,000 livres*. The Minister of his Britannic Majesty eluded the earnest solicitations of France, by a fresh outrage. He declared, that he considered Messrs. de Belleisle as prisoners of state, an expression by which he meant to disguise their real character of spies! The reproach was not without foundation: first, it seemed repugnant to good sense, that the negotiators, in order to repair to the electorate of Brandenburg, should have chosen to go by the electorate of Hanover, rather than by the usual way; or that, in this case, they should have neglected providing themselves with passports: this implied a design of concealing their march. It was suspected, that their object was to

* Upwards of two thousand pounds.

1745. examine, whether it were possible to make the French army, posted about Mentz and Cologne, penetrate into this electorate, by conducting them over mountains, difficult of access indeed, but not insurmountable. There was the greater reason for this suspicion, because these mountains, looked upon by the natives as a sufficient defence, were neither guarded nor fortified; and that the Marshal affected to pass by them with all his train, among whom, it was asserted, there were several intelligent officers, very capable of drawing a plan of the country. The conveyance of the prisoners to London; the good treatment they received there; and their long residence, furnished matter for another conjecture, of a more indirect nature; this was, that the whole was a matter of mere contrivance, in order that the King of England, by a simple and natural method, might have an agent by him capable of entering into a negotiation, either for a general or particular peace.

20 Jan.

Admitting this design, however absurd, of secret conferences, they were soon to become useless, or change their object, by the death of the Emperor; which gave a new turn to the politics of the several cabinets. This Prince, whose misfortunes had only begun with his elevation, having re-entered the capital of his electorate, in momentary apprehension of being driven out of it again, the perpetual sport of fortune, died there, the victim of his afflictions and disorders, at the age of 47 years. He had the gout and the gravel: his lungs, liver, and stomach, were in a state of mortification; stones were found in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart. It was imagined, that for a long time past he had not passed one moment

1745.

ment without suffering France, in presenting him with the Imperial crown, had presented him with all these evils. His greatness had been merely a theatrical representation, and the last honours rendered to his remains were still a farce.

The body of this unfortunate Prince, says Voltaire, was exposed, cloathed after the antient Spanish fashion, according to the etiquette established by Charles V. though, since his time, no Emperor had been a Spaniard, and though Charles VII. had no kind of connection with that nation. He was buried with all the Imperial ceremonies; and with that pomp of human vanity and misery, the globe of the world was carried before him, who, during the short course of his empire, had not even possessed one small and barren province: even the title of Invincible was given him in the rescripts which proceeded from the young Elector, his son; a title annexed, by custom, to the dignity of Emperor: which only served more effectually to shew the insignificance of him who had possessed it, and, consequently, to render him more ridiculous.

Charles VII. when he died, carried with him into his grave the fruit of the negotiations and efforts which France had been making in his favour for four years past. All this was the more effectually lost, as the French could not flatter themselves, to obtain the empire for his son, who was but seventeen years old. His conduct, however, shewed him more worthy of it than his father. Without suffering himself to be dazzled by the illusions of grandeur, so seducing for a young Prince, he prudently thought of preserving his electorate, and of restoring peace to his subjects. He conceived himself to be exempt

1745.

from gratitude towards a benefactress who had never done him any thing but mischief ; and, without examining, whether the sentiments of affection which France had shewn for his house, were very sincere, he thought, that the first duty incumbent upon him was, to remove from his electorate the pestilence of war, and to exert himself for the happiness of his people. It has been said, that Count Seckendorff, who commanded his army, had suggested to him the intention of joining the House of Austria ; that this General, of a rapacious turn, who had taken the gold plate of his master in pledge, after having received immense sums from France, had brought in an account for more, and was dissatisfied, that, in the present exhausted state of the kingdom, they should be denied him. But, if the young Elector had not been actuated by internal sentiments of moderation, he would have rejected his suggestions, and would have suffered himself to be seduced by those of France, and by her dazzling proposals. She still continued to pay the Bavarian troops ;—she had sent him six thousand Hessians, three thousand Palatines, and her German regiments, which she also paid. It is true, that these succours did not prevent the new Elector from receiving, at his accession to the throne, that humiliation which his father had so often experienced ; he was obliged to leave his capital. This had been foreseen by Seckendorff, who, on the 24th of March, wrote to Marshal Törring, a Bavarian General, these words.

April.

“ The good success which it is expected we shall
“ have on the Rhine, will not save Bavaria ; and
“ this country is predestined to be totally ruined,
“ if

" if some method be not found out to save it by any kind of accommodation whatever." 1745.

M. de Chavigny, Plenipotentiary of Lewis XV. in Bavaria, notwithstanding all his foresight, his ability, and his sagacity, could not ward off this stroke. It is to be supposed, that before the signature of the ostensible treaty of Fuesen, between the Elector and the Queen of Hungary, dated the 22d day of April, there were already some preliminary conventions made on the 15th, by virtue of which the Elector ordered his troops, which defended the entrance into his dominions, to fall back upon Munich. There is one circumstance in this manœuvre that amounts nearly to treachery; which is, that the troops did this without giving notice to M. de Ségur, who commanded the French at Pfaffenhoven. He had no more than 5,000 men; and was attacked by 15,000 Austrians, under the command of Count Bathiani. He defended himself with bravery, fought in retreating for three days, taking care always to possess himself of the heights, killing several of the enemy, and arriving at last, with little loss, at Donawert. The Marquis of Rupelmonde, at once an excellent foldier, an enlightened philosopher, and an amiable man, perished in this unequal and long-continued action. He had only his Aide-de-camp near him, when he received the musket-shot which made him fall. *Leave me to die*, said he, *and make haste to give notice to M. de Ségur, that he may take care of the rear-guard.* The Marquis of Crussol, who succeeded him, and the Chevalier de la Marck, conducted themselves with so much intrepidity and prudence, that they merited the praises of their enemies, and rewards from the King.

1745.

During this time, the young Elector was in Augsbourg. He sent notice to his Majesty of his treaty, by which he renounced his pretensions to the Empire, to the House of Austria, bound himself to observe an absolute neutrality, and to oblige the foreign troops to quit his dominions. The Queen, on her part, promised to withdraw her troops from Bavaria, and gave up the indemnities she had required for the expences of the war.

This step, which was, undoubtedly, the best the Elector could take in his precarious situation, would not perhaps have been disapproved of, even by Lewis XV. if the Elector had placed more confidence in his Majesty, and had communicated his resolution to him. The King found himself freed by this from an ally too feeble not to be burthensome to him, whom he could not have continued to support without an immense expence, nor abandon without dishonour. Besides, there were in the treaty some secret articles, very likely to displease France. The Prince promised his vote to the Grand Duke at the first Diet of election, and acted thus directly contrary to the politics of that Government, which had lavished so much blood and treasure in the cause. In a word, to complete his ingratitude, he engaged to furnish troops to the Queen of Hungary, and to receive, as the other Princes, money from the English. Thus, at the end of two years, by an incredible revolution, the son was taking arms against the Monarch who had given the Imperial crown to his father. All this might still admit of an excuse from the law of necessity, which often makes petty Princes unfaithful with the best disposition, inasmuch as they never act voluntarily.

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It should seem, that a war undertaken to place and maintain Charles VII. upon the throne of the Cæsars, ought to have terminated with his death, and especially after his son had renounced this dignity. But, in default of this Prince, the French had cast their eye upon the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony; and the principles of that Crown were so much inverted, that they offered the Imperial sceptre to a Monarch, enriched with the spoils of the father-in-law of Lewis XV: a Monarch whom they had long considered as an usurper, whose defection they had since experienced in the present war, and who had just been forming an alliance with their enemy. In fact, there had been concluded at Dresden, on the eighth of January, a treaty of defensive alliance, between the Queen of Hungary, the Kings of Poland and England, and the Republic of Holland, by which these Powers reciprocally guaranteed their dominions to each other, stipulating the troops which the King of Poland should furnish to the Queen of Hungary, and the subsidies which the other contracting parties should give to this Prince as an indemnity for his expences. The French endeavoured to seduce this Monarch, not only by the eclat of this dignity, but also by the right which it would give him to devolve upon his House part of the inheritance of Austria, which he had at first contested for sword in hand. The secret aim of these insinuations was, by detaching him from his new alliance, to give greater weight to the King of Prussia, and to force the Queen of Hungary into a peace. The Saxon Minister discovered the snare, and prevented his master from giving in to it;—he persuaded him, that it would be difficult for him to preserve

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1745.

preserve the crown of Poland, and to accept that of the Empire at the same time, inasmuch as that Republic would be apprehensive of having too powerful a Chief; as most of it's Nobles were inclined for the House of Austria; and as, in that case, he would risque the loss of a throne he was in possession of, in hopes of another which he was not certain of obtaining, against the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He submitted, moreover, to his consideration, the burden of such a dignity, in the example of the Elector of Bavaria; a burden under which a Prince, who is not very powerful in himself, must necessarily fall: so that his new grandeur, not being founded on his own strength, would only become a source of disgust, affliction, and humiliation.

The King of Poland had little share of ambition; he weighed all these considerations coolly, and rejected the proposals of France. Far from pretending to the Empire, he formed a stricter union with the Queen of Hungary, and resolved that his suffrage should concur in placing the Imperial crown on the head of her husband. His was the fourth vote this Princess had secured, for she had just obtained that of the Elector of Mentz, who had made his peace. Marshal Maillebois, to make the latter feel the King's dissatisfaction, had seized upon the fort of Königstein, in his electorate.

This revenge was useless; and France was soon to lose an ally, who would turn the scale, and preclude all hope of preventing the Empire from being again subject to the House of Austria. This ally could be no other than the King of Prussia, who had changed sides in this war as often as his interest required

1745.

it. After having gained two battles against the Austrians *, of whom he was always the terror, perceiving that no advantage was to be gained by them, he had wished to avail himself of the circumstance, and get some indemnity on the side of the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, by seizing some of the possessions of this enemy, who being more feeble, was consequently to be sacrificed. He had published a manifesto against him, and had sent an army, under the command of the Prince of Anhalt-Deffau, into Saxony. Not being willing to go far from Prince Charles, who was a rival worthy of him, he had contented himself with sending one of his officers against the King of Poland; who, after having seen his troops beaten at Kesselsdorf, had quitted Dresden, and had retired to Prague, with part of the Royal Family. The expulsion of Sovereigns from their dominions, was then a very frequent incident. The winter was coming on, and the King of Prussia, having nothing more to fear from Prince Charles, thought his presence would be necessary at Dresden. His Majesty entered the city at the same time that the Elector forsook it, and gathered considerable contributions from thence. It was there, that upon information of the Czarina's having declared in favour of the fugitive King, he thought it proper to secure the benefit of his late victories, by two treaties concluded some days after upon the spot. By the first, the King of Poland ceded to the King of Prussia every thing that was in contest between them, and

August.

25 Dec.

25 Dec.

* The battle of Friedberg, against Prince Charles of Lorraine, on the 4th of June 1745; and, in Bohemia, that of Pradnitz, on the 30th of September.

bound

1745. bound himself to pay, at the ensuing fair of Leipsic, to the King a million of German crowns. By the second treaty, the Queen of Hungary renewed and confirmed the cession of Silesia and the County of Glatz to that Monarch: and on his part, he guaranteed to this Princess all her dominions in Germany, and gave her his Electoral vote for the election of the Grand Duke in the quality of Emperor. The Elector Palatine and the Landgrave of Hesse were included in this accommodation, and the King of England, who was the author of it, made himself guarantee for the execution.

In order to understand the last article of this treaty, it is necessary to know that the Grand Duke of Tuscany had just been elected King of the
 13 Sept. Romans, by the Elector of Mentz, and by the Ambassadors of the Electors of Treves, of Cologne, of Bohemia, of Bavaria, of Saxony, and of Hano-
 23 Sept. ver, and afterwards Emperor, by the name of Francis I. notwithstanding the protests of the King of Prussia, and of the Elector Palatine, against the readmission of the Electoral vote of Bohemia.

This event had been foreseen at Versailles, and, upon the refusal of the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, the love of peace with which Lewis XV. was impressed, would even then perhaps have induced him to sacrifice his vanity to this desirable and general good, by giving up his opposition to the election of the Grand Duke, if he had not found too great a share of obstinacy and resentment in his enemies. England especially, which had expended such enormous sums in the Queen
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1745.

of Hungary's cause *, without any hopes of being ever reimbursed by that Princess, endeavoured to indemnify itself by it's navy. The English flattered themselves that they should for a long time crush that of France and Spain; that they should thus become the masters of trade, and by this inexhaustible channel should bring back, with usury, all the riches they had lavished with so much magnificence, and which they still continued to lavish, by keeping in pay a number of Sovereigns, who were really their *stipendiaries*, under the more decent name of *auxiliaries*, and their *slaves*, under that of their *allies*.

France therefore had no choice left, but to continue in arms: it was resolved to carry on a defensive war in Germany, and to proceed with the offensive one in Flanders and Italy. The Prince of Conti was charged with the war upon the Rhine, which was of a very different nature from that he had carried on in the Alps, and still more inconsistent with the impetuosity of his youth and of his disposition. But it had been thought necessary to send another General to Don Philip, who was a restraint upon a Prince of the blood, too tenacious, and moreover too fiery to agree with the phlegmatic turn and haughtiness of the Spaniard; this motive, at least, appears more probable than the jealousy of the King, between whom and this Prince there was not however any better understanding. He was commissioned to keep the Austrians in employment, and by this diversion to prevent them from falling with

* It is asserted, that in the year 1744 the English had spent eleven million five hundred and forty thousand pounds, and that they expended much more the following years.

forces

1745. forces too superior upon the King of Prussia. Marshal Maillebois succeeded the Prince of Conti; he was thought to be the General the most skilled in this kind of war, which he had practised in Corsica.

The king took upon himself to go in person to Flanders, to complete the conquests which had been interrupted the year before; and, notwithstanding the Dauphin's late marriage, he was obliged to keep the promise he had made the same year, of suffering that Prince to accompany him.

The Minister for the war department had taken every precaution, that the presence of his Majesty should not be fruitless. Notwithstanding the losses France had experienced in men, he had rendered the army in Flanders the most flourishing and most complete that had ever yet been seen there; it consisted of a hundred and six battalions, and a hundred and seventy-two squadrons, having their full complement of men, with seventeen free companies. He had been obliged, in order to complete it, to
 16 April. make the militia march; which he had formed into seven regiments, under the title of *Royal Grenadiers*, that were composed of picked men from amongst them. The valour of these troops, and the services they did, justified the idea of such an establishment.

This army was commanded by Marshal Saxe; whose talents had already been displayed in a manner to inspire the greatest confidence in him; but he was then consumed by a languishing disease, and almost dying. When he left Paris, being asked how he should be able to manage, in such a state of debility, he answered: *the business is not to live; but*

1745.

but to set out. He had lost nothing of his activity and genius. After having kept the combined armies of the allies in suspense, and deceived them by several marches and counter-marches, he had laid siege to Tournay. It was the strongest of the barrier towns, one of the *chef-d'œuvres* of Vauban. As soon as the States General learnt that this city was in danger, notwithstanding their circumspection, they were the first to take a firm resolution, and sent word to their Generals, that they must hazard an action. Such was the disposition of the enemy, when the King and the Dauphin set out. It was an affecting sight to see this august father and his only son tear themselves from the delights of their palace. The alarm was general in Paris, at the idea of two such precious lives being exposed. In default of them, the scepter fell into the hands of the Duke of Orleans, who was then blended among the monks of Saint - Genevieve, lifting up his hands to Heaven, while they were fighting. He was a saint, but it was a hero who was wanted.

The King arrived on the 7th of May, at Douay, and received, as he was going to bed, a courier from the Marshal, to inform him, that the army of the enemy was advancing, and would soon be in sight: *Gentlemen*, said he to his Aids-de-camp, and to his Officers, *there shall be no time lost; I will set out tomorrow at 5 o'clock, and you may let the Dauphin sleep.*

The Prince, who had been apprised of this, arrived the next day, almost as soon as the King, at the camp before Tournay: he accompanied his Majesty, when he went to reconnoitre the ground intended

1745. tended for the field of battle. All the army, receiving them in their military dress, shouted with acclamations of joy. The soldiers had not yet seen the Dauphin; he was already tall, of a settled countenance, and capable of enduring the fatigues of a campaign. His features were agreeable, his complexion remarkably clear, and his eyes were full of fire: there was a noble simplicity in all his outward deportment, which could not but make him agreeable to the troops, whose companion he came to be. His presence was sufficient to gain their affection, and, joined to that of the King, could not fail of increasing their ardour; to be led on to action was their only desire. Lewis XV. on his part, never exhibited more cheerfulness. On the eve of the action, the conversation turned upon those engagements at which the Sovereign was present in person; his Majesty observed, that, since the battle of Poitiers, no French Monarch had fought with his son, or gained a signal victory against the English: he hoped he should be the first.

On Tuesday the 11th of May, very early in the morning, Lewis XV. rose the first; he himself called up Count d'Argenson, Minister for the war department, at 4 o'clock: they soon learnt that the enemy, encamped in the neighbourhood, were advancing in order of battle. At this intelligence, the Monarch and the Dauphin crossed the Scheld at the bridge of Calonne, and appeared at the head of the army near Fontenoi. When they had reconnoitred the dispositions of the Marshal, he intreated them to repass the river; but they both refused to do it, and placed themselves near enough

to the firing, to share the danger of the action, though with the degree of prudence which their rank required. Lewis XV. posted himself beyond *Notre-Dame-aux-bois* : the only guard he would have was a squadron of one hundred and twenty men of the company of Charost, one *Gendarme*, one light horseman, and one *mousquetaire*. Marshal Noailles conversed with him and Count d'Argenson; the Aids-de-camp were the same as the year before. The Duke of Villeroy was near his person, as Captain of his Guards; the Dauphin had his *Menins* * along with him.

The train of his Majesty and of the Dauphin, which composed a numerous company, was followed by a crowd of persons drawn thither in expectation of the action, some of whom even got up into trees to enjoy the sight of a battle.

Though it be not in our plan to give particular descriptions of such events, yet the importance of this one, which decided the fate of the war, and, by paving the way for the conquest of the Low Countries, indemnified France for all it's other losses, obliges us to dwell longer upon it; nevertheless, we shall do this, rather with an intent to collect all the different strokes it has furnished, of skill, courage, magnanimity, presence of mind, humanity, and even mirth (for the French are merry in every thing), than to talk as military men or politicians about this action; upon which the ocular witnesses, and the most experienced Generals, are not agreed. About 5 o'clock, the armies were in sight.

* A title given to some Gentlemen of the first Nobility about the person of the Dauphin. They are twelve in number.

1745.

The right of the French extended towards the village of Antoin, their left towards the wood of Barri, and their center was at Fontenoi. The enemy presented themselves in three corps: Count Kœnigseck, commanded the right wing; the Prince of Waldeck, the left; and the Duke of Cumberland occupied the center. About six o'clock they fired a canon, which was as it were the signal of action. The artillery being equally well served on both sides, the canonade continued long with success, or, to speak more properly, with equal loss. Every firing thinned the ranks, and covered the earth with dead. Marshal Saxe, attended by his Aids-de-camp, and accompanied by his General Officers, was then visiting all the posts; he was exposed, as well as his suite, to a continual fire from the Dutch. He did not conceal the danger from them: *Gentlemen*, said he, *your life is necessary to-day*.

He thought, for some time, that the enemy would only make this feint, and observed it to Marshal Noailles: he imputed a more skilful manœuvre to them, than they really had: he thought, they meant to keep the French army continually in awe, and in alarm, that they might by this contrivance retard the taking of Tournai, and perhaps render it impossible. They were in fact posted in such a manner, that they could not be attacked with advantage, and they might have harassed the army of the besiegers continually; this was the opinion of the old General Kœnigseck; but the impetuous courage of the Duke of Cumberland, and the confidence of the English, would not listen to any advice.

After this bloody prelude, the allies at length
put

1745.

put themselves in motion, and advanced in the best order. They first seemed as if they intended to attack the three opposite corps at the same time; but turning round suddenly upon themselves, they all fell upon the center together. The shock was terrible, as it was expected to be, and they met with a vigorous repulse. Notwithstanding this fury, the action had begun with a great deal of civility and coolness. The officers had been seen to salute each other, pulling off their hats. Lord Charles Hay, a Captain of the English Guards, advanced before the ranks; and Count d'Auteroche, a Lieutenant of Grenadiers in the regiment of French Guards, stepped forward to meet him: *Gentlemen of the French Guards, said the English Captain, fire. No, my Lord,* replied the other, *we never fire first.*

The Duke of Cumberland seeing the little success of this attack, changed his order of battle, and from our center turned to our left. The firing of the musketry then began again, and was kept up a long time in an almost invariable order by the English, with a rolling fire, that is to say, firing by divisions, which followed each other without interruption. They advanced in a slow march, as if they were going to exercise: the Majors were seen resting their canes upon the soldiers firelocks to make them fire low and straight. We were losing a great number of men. It was here that a cannon-shot killed the Duke of Grammont, too unfortunately known in the affair of Dettingen, but who, repairing his fault on this occasion, was regretted, and deserved the honour of having the *baton* of Marshal placed upon his coffin. In the morning,

1745.

Marshal Noailles had said to him: *Nephew, we must embrace upon a day of battle; perhaps we shall see each other no more.* The Duke of Grammont received the stroke of death with the greatest coolness. *Take care of yourself,* said to him Count Lowendahl, *your horse is killed: And so am I,* answered the Duke.

The French had imperceptibly lost ground, and were at three hundred paces below Fontenoi. This position, by accident, became fatal to the enemy, who were at once exposed to the fire of the redoubts of the wood of Barri, and to that of the artillery of Fontenoi. The Duke of Cumberland then had recourse to that admirable manœuvre, which will ever rank him among the greatest commanders. He caused the rear lines of his army to face about, which being already confined in front by the nature of the ground, formed by this means a long square, one of the sides of which was to continue pressing upon our left wing, the other was to surround the redoubts of the wood of Barri, and the third to keep it's ground against the post of Fontenoi. This disposition succeeded to the General beyond his expectations. It formed a thick column, almost impenetrable from it's solidity, and more so from it's courage. His troops could fire a greater number of rounds, and every shot took effect.

In the mean while, Marshal Saxe, sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot, sometimes on a litter, for he continued very ill, shewed himself wherever the danger was greatest. It was at this instant that Marshal Noailles, forgetting his own rank in favour of a foreign General, younger than himself, sacrificed

1745.

sacrificed the jealousy of command to the good of the State, and acted as his Aid-de-camp. The Marshal beheld the army exerting prodigies of valour in every part, but which served only to increase our losses; for if the soldiers gave way for a moment to the efforts of this formidable column, they returned again to the charge, without ever being discouraged, and always without success. There would be no end to it, if we were to relate every thing great and heroic that passed upon this day. M. de Luttaux, the first Lieutenant General of the army, upon being informed of the danger in which the center of the army was, hastened from Fontenoi, where he had just been dangerously wounded. His Aid-de-camp was intreating him, first to get his wound dressed: *The King's service*, said he, *is dearer to me than my life!* He did not leave the field, till after he had received two other mortal wounds. He preserved his presence of mind for the command to the end, and meeting in his way some soldiers of the regiment of Guards, he said to them: *My friends, go and join your companions, who guard the bridge of Calonne.*

This bridge became more and more important, for it began to be in agitation to make the King retreat, and it was over it that his Majesty was to pass. His suite were conjuring him, to put his own person, and that of the Dauphin, in safety. They were posted at the beginning of the action upon a small eminence, upon which the enemy's canon had a full bearing. One of the balls fell at the feet of his son: *Monsieur le Dauphin*, exclaimed he, *send it back to the enemy, I will receive nothing from them.* At length, the musketry took effect

1745.

upon this spot. One of Count d'Argenson's domestics was stricken on the forehead by a musket-ball, a great way behind the King. All these circumstances are related in a manner as sprightly as it is interesting, in a letter from the Marquis d'Argenson to M. Voltaire*. The letter of the Dauphin to the Dauphiness, upon the same subject, is no less curious, from the cheerfulness, the simplicity, and especially the modesty with which it is written. The Prince speaks only of the King, without saying a word of himself†.

Lewis XV. observed every thing with attention on this spot, from whence all the corps were equally within his view; he made some judicious remarks, gave orders in consequence, and altered some dispositions, but always with that reserve which he shewed in every thing, and after having taken the General's opinion. He said, that he came to this battle to instruct himself, and to instruct his son. The same deference determined him to quit this post, where he was too much exposed, and to draw nearer to Antoin. It was there that the Marquis de Meuse came to intreat his Majesty, from Marshal Saxe, to repass the bridge, with assurances, that he would exert himself, to the utmost of his abilities, to repair the confusion. *I am perfectly convinced of that*, replied the Monarch, *but I will stay where I am*. In the mean while, the impetuous ardour of the Dauphin could not be restrained; he wanted to advance at the head of the King's household troops; and as he was running on, with his sword in his hand, he cried out: *Frenchmen*,

* We refer to the Appendix for this letter, which Voltaire had preserved among his papers, N° I.

† It will be inserted in the Appendix, N° II.

1745.

let us march; where is then the honour of the nation? He was stopped, and was told that his life was too precious. *Ab! said he, in the day of battle, it is not my life, it is that of the General.*

The carnage still continued, the regiments advanced, one after the other, and were distinctly destroyed. One among the rest attracted particularly the attention of Marshal Saxe. This hero seeing whole ranks fall down, without the corps giving way, inquired what troop it was. He was informed that it was the regiment *des Vaisseaux*, commanded by Count Guerchy, the only one of it's officers who had the good fortune not to be killed or wounded; he exclaimed: *This is admirable!*

The enemy, already reckoning upon the victory, shouted with joy. Their shouts were hear'd as far as Tournai. The soldiers, who, from the top of the ramparts, were spectators of the combat, were preparing to complete the defeat of the besiegers: the garrison attempted a sally; but some militia and troops, newly raised, that were left to guard the trenches, did their duty so well, that they were repulsed with loss.

At this critical moment it was resolved upon to make a last effort, and to fall upon the English by a triple attack against their front and their flanks. This movement was expected to change the face of affairs. The soldiers shewed as much readiness as if they had not yet fought, and the charge began again. Never did two rival armies, animated with the desire of revenge, meet each other with greater fury. It was upon this occasion that the King's household troops, which had not yet engaged, acquired much honour. According

1745.

to the method recommended by the Chevalier Fo-
lard, of keeping at a distance from the enemy those
troops whose name they stand most in awe of, Marshal
Saxe had kept these, as well as the Carabineers, in re-
serve. The example of these fresh troops, whose
ardour had increased while they had remained in-
active, re-animated the others, which had been dis-
couraged. All the regiments, both French and fo-
reign, cavalry and infantry, rushed on with new im-
petuosity. The column, still unmoveable, opposed
the three attacks, and supported them with intrep-
idity. It was battered by a terrible and continual
fire; while its own was incessantly kept up. The
action on both sides became a dreadful butchery.
The Duke of Cumberland concealed his losses, ours
were evident. The regiments of the *King*, of *La*
Couronne, and of *Aubeterre*, were seen to intrench
themselves behind heaps of carcases. The army of the
confederates improved their former successes, by other
advantages. Our lines, crushed rather than broken,
appeared disordered in several places. In the mean
while, several detachments, guided only by their
valour, ventured to precipitate themselves against
this invincible battalion: no effort was capable of
penetrating it. All these particular attacks were
carried on without any plan, and constitute what are
called false charges, in which every exertion of
bravery is unavailing against discipline and order.

A retreat became now more necessary than ever.
The persons who were about the King thought the
battle lost; there were no more balls at Fontenoi,
nor at the redoubt of the wood of Barri. Most of
the persons who worked the artillery were killed;
Marshal Saxe had given orders to evacuate the post of
Antoin;

1745.

Antoin; he thought of nothing but preventing a total defeat. Terror began to seize the French; a considerable number of horsemen were pushed in disorder to the spot where the King was with his son. These two Princes were separated by the crowd that precipitated upon them. His Majesty did not change countenance: he was afflicted, but shewed no marks of anger or uneasiness. He observed about two hundred horsemen dispersed behind him, towards *Notre-Dame-aux-bois*: he said to a light horseman: *Go and rally those people in my name, and bring them back.* The light horseman was named Jouy; he obeyed, and brought them back. He thought he had done no more than his duty, and after the victory, it was necessary to inquire after him, to give him a reward.

There was rather a tumultuous kind of Council about the King; he was solicited, in the name of his country, not to expose himself any more; he still persisted, sensible of the bad effect his departure would occasion. Marshal Saxe came up at this instant; the King communicated to him the subject in agitation. *Where is the scoundrel,* exclaimed he, *who gives such advice to your Majesty? Before the battle, it was my opinion. It is now too late; matters are not sufficiently desperate.* A little after this, the Duke de Richelieu came up; he encouraged the intimidated persons: he informed them, that balls were just come, and that Fontenoi still held out; he assured them, that he was come from reconnoitring the column; that with a few pieces of canon it might be penetrated; and that such an opening as this would be sufficient to break it. The idea was suggested by a subaltern officer of artillery, and he took the credit of it to himself: fortunately there were four pieces of canon.

1745.

non at hand, destined to cover the retreat. Lewis XV. delighted, eagerly embraced the advice of his favourite. He ordered the Duke de Pecquigny to get these four pieces pointed. The Nobleman hastened to perform this service: the use of the canon was indicated to him, upon which he cried out: *No retreat, the King orders that these four pieces of canon should gain the victory.* They were instantly pointed at the enemy, who already thought themselves masters of the field of battle, and were very near. The canon was fired rapidly several times. The certainty of being knocked down the instant after, made the soldier fearful of filling up the place of his companion, who had just been slain. The column, hitherto impenetrable, at length exhibited a deficiency. The King's household troops came forward, and insinuated themselves by this breach, which was enlarged by the Gendarmes and Carabineers: the other regiments followed, animated by this success: the corps commissioned to execute the other attacks, precipitated themselves into the lines that were opposed to them, and broke them in several places. The bayonet and the sword now came in use; the fray was dreadful, and the confusion such, that the Carabineers, taking one moment the Irish, who were clothed nearly the same, for English, obliged them to call out *France for ever!* but unfortunately, after some of them had been killed. The column once opened, the whole gave way and was dispersed. The enemy could not singly resist the fury of the French. The soldiers, irritated with the first resistance, gave no quarter, and massacred without mercy all that came in their way. Those who escaped the sword of the foot soldiers were trampled by the cavalry. The

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horses, covered with blood up to the breast, found it difficult to clear themselves from the heaps of carcases with which the plain was covered. The singularity is, that the general rout of an army so intrepid a few hours before, was the work of an instant. The remainder fled, and disappeared. It seemed as if we had been fighting against those enchanted legions, which were visible and invisible at pleasure; it was an affair of seven or eight minutes. The French, astonished to meet with Frenchmen every where, at length took breath; they felt the joy of a victory so long disputed.

Every one reasoned according to his feelings upon the cause of gaining this battle. Some attributed it to the presence of the King and of the Dauphin; some to the skill of Marshal Saxe; some to the vigorous charge of the King's household troops; some to the contrivance of the Duke of Richelieu; others, in fine, to the valour of our troops, whom nothing could discourage. These several circumstances certainly concurred in it; but the faults committed by the enemy did not less contribute. The first, was, to have left behind them the redoubt of the woods of Barri and of Fontenoi, the canon of which they might even have turned against the French. Their second fault was, to have advanced without cavalry. The third was, not to have availed themselves of the instant, when there was nothing but powder fired at Fontenoi, to seize upon that post.—In a word, the fourth, and undoubtedly the most considerable error came from the Dutch, who, being frightened at the first shock they had received, instead of forcing the post of Antoin, and the redoubts that separated it from Fontenoi—by which they would have assisted
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1745.

1745. and supported the English—remained idle spectators of the engagement.

As soon as the field of battle was clear, the King, in order to inspire the Dauphin with the same horror which he himself had, for even a just war, caused him to go over it. The young Prince, shuddering, saw in reality what he had only seen in history—humanity degraded by the hand of man; a vast plain soaked with blood, limbs scattered and separated from the trunk, heaps of carcases, and thousands of dying men endeavouring in vain to disengage themselves from them. He related, that he had seen some, forgetting they were enemies, and reciprocally binding up the wounds they had inflicted upon each other; some were struggling against death, weltering in their blood, and biting the earth; others were raising up their heads, and recalling an instant of life to exclaim: *Long live the King and the Dauphin!* they expired with this last effort. Several of them, intent upon the salvation of their souls, for want of Priests, were confessing themselves to God, and imploring his mercy. On whichever side he turned, there was nothing hear'd but lamentable groans and gnashings of rage.

At this horrid spectacle, so affecting for a young Prince, whose heart has lost nothing of it's sensibility, the Dauphin melted. The King, who perceived this, said to him: *Learn, my son, how much a victory is costly and painful!* The Monarch had given him a similar lesson at the beginning of the day; when his first surgeon, la Peyronie, came to give him an account of the catastrophe of the Duke of Grammont, his Majesty had cried out with a sigh: *Alas! there will be many others this day.* The Dauphin answered his

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OF LEWIS XV.

269

1745.

his august father only with tears. At this instant the King being asked how he would have the wounded among the English treated, answered: *As our own, they are no longer our enemies.* Accordingly, they were treated with every attention possible; a great part of them were sent to Lisle, where the convents and communities served as hospitals. The Ladies of the city abandoned their toilets and their amusements for several days; they tore up their shifts to make lint. The enemy, on calling over their numbers, missed 14,000 men; but 6,000 of these returned the same evening: they lost forty pieces of canon. The French likewise bought this victory very dear: every regiment had lost part of the corps; some of them were totally destroyed, and had nothing but their name remaining. There had been a greater number of officers killed and wounded, in proportion, than soldiers: and to do justice to all, we should be obliged to name almost the whole Nobility of the kingdom.

Tournai surrendered ten days after this victory. To acknowledge the services of Marshal Saxe, already crowned with glory, honours, and fortune, the King granted him the honours of the Louvre, gave him the park and castle of Chambord for life, and increased his pensions with the addition of 40,000 livres * per annum.

This city, which had formerly belonged to France, and was one of the most antient patrimonies of our Kings, was not displeased at being retaken, not from any motive of attachment to their conquerors, but from views of interest. It is well known how much

* Upwards of one thousand six hundred pounds.

money

1745.

money our troops circulate in all the places through which they pass, by their profusions: but the Dutch garrison imported even their shoes and stockings from their own country. This oeconomy—which was extremely proper in a nation that did not consider the citizens as their countrymen, and resided there only as among foreigners—could not but render the magnificence of the French more agreeable. Tournai soon had an instance of this, in a sight which had not been renewed there since the last wars of Lewis XIV. The superior courts of the capital had appointed deputations to compliment the King on his victory. They arrived with a numerous train, proportioned to the grandeur of their mission. They had a public audience at Pontachin, calculated to give foreigners an idea of the Monarch in his pacific functions.

In the interval between the attack of the city and that of the citadel, there was a suspension of arms: it capitulated on the 19th of June. Eight days after *la fête Dieu*, the King made his entrance into Tournai with his son. They assisted at the procession of the holy sacrament. The inhabitants, who are very superstitious, were much edified with their piety. They said one to another, “It was no wonder that Heaven should declare itself in favour of an army, commanded by Princes so religious.” But, in fact, it was commanded by a General who never went to mass, who had but little faith in the Deity, and who, even at that period, was the victim of his own debaucheries. The Monarch, whose piety and devotion they so much admired, was then living in a state of double adultery. Without searching, therefore, into the decrees of Providence, the real cause of
this

1745.

this glorious campaign, and of those which succeeded it, was the battle of Fontenoi. The army of the allies being weakened and dispersed, were not able to oppose any enterprize.

The King, at the head of his army, marched on to new conquests, still accompanied by the Dauphin. Count Lowendahl took the city of Ghent by escalade; Bruges opened it's gates to the Marquis of Souvré; the King made himself master of Oudenarde in less than four days of open trenches. He made his entrance into the city of Ghent, and gave audience there to Baron Bernstorff, Envoy from the King of Denmark, to acquaint his Majesty that the Princess of Denmark was delivered of a Prince. Dendermonde was taken by the Duke of Harcourt; and Ostend, after a siege of six days, by Count Lowendahl; who also possessed himself of Nieupoort, with it's garrison, in five days. Finally, Ath did not hold out any longer against the Marquis of Clermont-Gallerande.

Never had Lewis XV. appeared so great as during this campaign: he dictated laws even to his enemies. While the Dutch were fighting against him, he always had an Ambassador from that republic near his person. He caused to be claimed, in his name, at the Hague, two ships of the India Company, the *Hercules* and the *Jason*, taken by the English, and bought at Batavia by the Governor General. The Abbé de la Ville, his Envoy, produced the two treaties between the two nations, which forbade the giving an asylum in their reciprocal ports, to persons who had made any captures against either of the Powers, far from permitting that they should

1 Sept.

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1745.
30 Dec.

be sold and turned into property; and the States-General ordered the restitution of them.

This Minister, in order the more effectually to reconcile to the King his master this Republic—which had entered into the contest from a spirit of party, rather than with the real and unanimous wishes of the nation—demanded their mediation, and proposed that a general congress should be assembled there to put an end to the war. This prelude of good faith and confidence was followed by a new requisition, that the Republic should abstain from sending into Great Britain the six thousand men of the garrisons of Tournai and Oudenarde, engaged by their capitulation to perform no military service 'till the 1st of January 1747. The requisition was just, and the Dutch were obliged to call them back, inasmuch as the King might attack England; and that the English could not oppose him with troops which should have broken their oath.

His Britannic Majesty, on his part, had demanded this reinforcement in compliance with the treaties of the English with Holland, which was to furnish such a contingent in all cases of invasion. This was a positive one. Prince Edward, led on by his courage, and unable to remain in a state of inaction, which he considered as shameful, had landed the latter end of August in Scotland. At his landing, he had published a manifesto, in which he declared, that he came to claim his rights: he engaged himself to become the most valiant defender of the religion and liberties of the English; he hoped to ascend the throne of his ancestors without any assistance, except that of his people, and would not employ any foreign troops for this purpose, unless his enemies should set the example,

1745.

example, and oblige him to it. This generous resolution excited in his favour a certain number of the partisans of the house of the Stuarts: in a short time, he found himself at the head of ten or twelve thousand men; but it was merely the consequence of a momentary enthusiasm, that put him in possession of the city of Edinburgh, and of some other towns. He beat 4,000 English at Preston, entered England, and advanced as far as Lancaster, without meeting with any enemy to oppose, or indeed any friend to assist him; he proceeded to Macclesfield, at the distance of 43 leagues from London, without there being any movement made in his favour. At length the Duke of Cumberland returned into England, thinking him an enemy proper for him to appear against; he marched up to the Prince, who fell back towards Scotland. His rear-guard was beaten at Clifton, and joined him in disorder at Carlisle; but he got some retaliation at Falkirk, where he gained a battle; which seemed to reinstate his affairs, and gave France some hope of a revolution in his favour.

There was still a more agreeable prospect which presented itself in Italy. The Austrians, employed against the King of Prussia in Germany, had not been able to appear in force in that country; so that nothing could stop the progress of the combined army of French and Spaniards. The Infant Don Philip and Marshal Maillebois had made themselves masters of the valley of Oneille, and had entered upon the territory of Genoa, by agreement with the republic; which being offended at the treaty of Worms, had taken their arrangements with the allies, and obliged themselves to supply them with ten thousand men, and a considerable train of artillery.

VOL. II.

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1745.

A series of uninterrupted successes was the result of this. The Marquis of Mirepoix beat the Piedmontese at Montefemo, and seized upon their camp: Marshal Maillebois defeated them at Bassignano, upon the Lower Tanaro; and Count Laurec gained a victory over them in the valley of Pragelas. The Austrians, who had joined them at Novi, were forced there; the castles of Seravallé, Tortona, Placentia, Parma, and Pavia, were seized upon in their sight. To punish the Genoese for their defection, the English, with a squadron of thirteen ships, attempted to bombard Final, but without success, and without causing any damage. The victorious army penetrated into Alexandria: the city and castle of Casal were reduced; and the brave Chevert made the garrison of Asti prisoners of war.

16 Dec.

In a word, the Spaniards reached Milan. It is customary for this city, which is not fortified, to surrender, without resistance, to any troops that present themselves before its gates; the Infant Don Philip, entered it on the 19th of December, and received the oath of allegiance from the Senate, and the inhabitants. Thus the House of Bourbon was conquering at once a number of States in the north and in the south; and this campaign, more fortunate than the preceding, terminated gloriously in all parts, except in America. The English had taken the city of Louisbourg, in Cape Breton, after a siege of fifty days. The good fortune they had had in seizing upon the royal battery, which covers this port, and is its chief defence, had furnished them the means, by turning it against the citadel, to batter it more nearly, and had facilitated the conquest; which, however, was rather owing to a preceding and more capital

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1745.

capital fault. M. de la Maison-fort, Captain of the *Vigilant*, was gone there with canon, balls, powder, and other ammunition; he had had a fortunate passage, and the wind was favourable for his entrance into the road of Louisbourg. A small privateer of the enemy came up with him, fired now and then a few shot, and then made it's escape. The proud Captain was incensed at this boldness; he chased the privateer, which kept him in bay with the hope of coming up to him, and led the ship, imperceptibly, towards the English squadron, at anchor in a neighbouring bay; the Captain perceived the snare, and was going to tack about, when the wind shifting, he failed in his commission, and was taken. By this reinforcement, the English, who began to be discouraged at the approach of the bad season, judging that the place was in want of ammunition, were reanimated, and turned against Louisbourg the materials destined for it's defence. As for the rest, the victory of M. de Macnemara, a simple Captain of a ship, appointed to the command of a squadron of five vessels and two frigates, designed for the American islands—where he met with several of the enemy's men of war, whom he fought, and obliged to sheer off*—supported the honour of the French flag. The Minister of the marine department at that time, did not think that the protection of our trade was to be neglected; he considered this as one of the most essential duties of the King's officers. Notwithstanding their pride and their unwillingness, he obliged them to it. This same M. de Macnemara, being

* Expressions used in the patent of Vice Admiral, granted to M. de Macnemara in 1756.



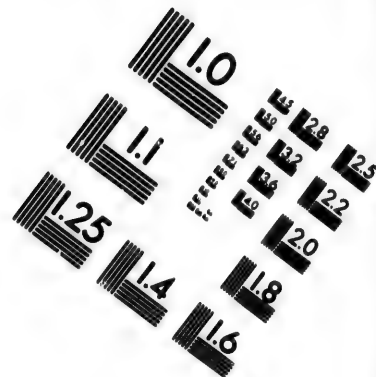
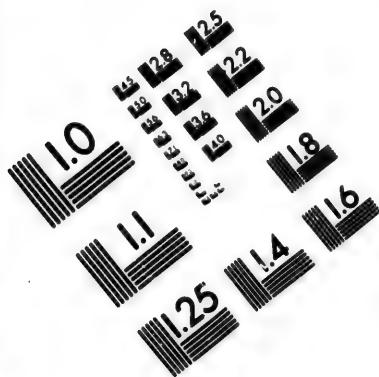
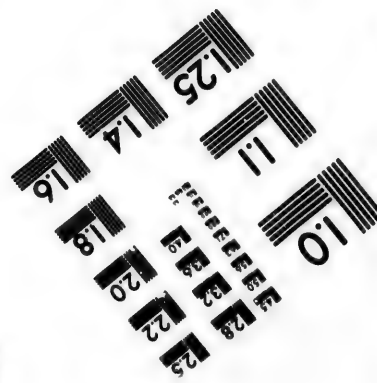
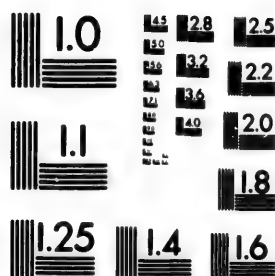


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1745. commissioned to escort different fleets during his expedition, conducted them to their destination, and, preferring his duty to more brilliant actions, was not afraid to expose himself to the raillery and affronts of his comrades, in order to execute literally the object of his commission*.

The winter, from 1745 to 1746, was passed in rejoicings and festivals. Marshal Saxe, at his return, enjoyed a new kind of triumph, the first time he went to the opera. Being seated in the balcony-box upon the stage, Mademoiselle de Metz, who played the part of *Glory*, advanced towards this hero, and placed a crown of laurel upon his head. It was not merely a *jeu de théâtre*, for the public, by repeated and unanimous plaudits, decreed it to him in a still more flattering manner. This was the prelude of what was to be done at Versailles in honour of the King.

The glory which Lewis XV. had acquired at Fon-

* *Extract of an historical manuscript upon the navy, during the war of 1756.*—From M. Lombard, at present a Lieutenant in the navy, who embarked, in 1745, in M. de Macnemara's squadron, on board a vessel commanded by the Chevalier Lombard, his brother, we learn—that M. de Macnemara, convoying a fleet to St. Domingo, met, across the mole of St. Nicholas, an English squadron of inferior force, which stood off at the sight of ours; but, perceiving that we made no motion to run down upon them, they imagined we were more weak than they, and, tacking about, made sail towards us. M. de Macnemara, then considering the engagement as unavoidable, prepared to form his line, and made a shew of tacking about; but, instead of going with the wind, he tacked, proceeding always under the wind. This manœuvre incensed the Chevalier Lombard, who called out aloud: *What, we are not then to fight?* &c. The enemy then, perceiving this singular manœuvre, thought it concealed some mysterious circumstance, and went away. Probably the orders of this Commander were, not to fight but when he should be forced to it, for the defence of his convoy.

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tenoi, and during the whole of the campaign, furnished an excuse for his weakness, in having carried his mistress along with him; who had not, however, put herself so forward as the Dutchess of Chateauroux; she had kept herself concealed, and in a state of reserve: many persons were even ignorant of her being at the army; it was proper to hide from the eyes of the Dauphin, a commerce of too fatal an example for him, at the beginning of his marriage; and it was to be wished, that this mystery could have been kept up. But the Monarch's passion, far from being extinguished by possession, increased in so violent a manner, and the ambition of the favourite took so high a flight, that she was the universal topic of conversation from one end of the kingdom to the other. She became the channel of all favours, which she could not concentrate in herself or her family; she appointed and disgraced the Ministers and Generals; she was the arbitress of peace and war; but she presided more especially over the department of pleasure, the only one indeed she held at present, the only one which became her, and which she filled with equal taste and talents.

Madame d'Etioles had procured a divorce from her husband; it was no longer proper that she should bear his name, and more particularly that of a simple under-farmer of the revenue. The King dignified her with the title of Marchioness of Pompadour; which was the name of an ancient house, extinct. Soon after this elevation, there happened a very droll scene in the provinces. M. d'Etioles, banished from Paris, and recalled to life, was endeavouring, during his convalescence, to confirm

1745.

his health, and to dissipate the remains of his melancholy by a variety of objects: for this purpose, he travelled through the skirts of France, 'till he should be permitted to draw nearer the capital. He was well received and entertained by the men, sought after and caressed by the women. The first courted his protection; the latter distinguished him by their favours. It was not doubted, but that he would return to Paris, and acquire a great influence there; or, at least, that his wife, when she came to be informed of the attention that had been shewn him, would be pleased, and that this circumstance would be a claim to her protection. In every province, the first Nobility sought his company, and were desirous of giving him entertainments. At one of these he met with an old country Gentleman, happy enough to know nothing about the Court, the King, or his mistress, and even ignorant of his having one. He was only attentive to the veneration which the traveller seemed to inspire all the guests with, and wished to conform to it. For this purpose, he inquired of one of his neighbours the name of the stranger. He was told, that he was the husband of the Marchioness of Pompadour. He kept it in his mind, and, the first time he took up his glass, looking at M. d'Etioles, according to the old custom, which he thought still in use, he said: *Monsieur le Marquis of Pompadour, will you give me leave to have the honour to drink your health?* All the company immediately burst out a laughing, except the stranger, whose sorrows were cruelly revived by this; and the speaker was stricken dumb at the general ridicule. He was terribly ashamed, when one of the
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company had the charity to explain to him the folly which his ignorance and indiscretion had made him guilty of: a folly so much the more disagreeable, as it was of a nature not to be repaired by any excuse; and that it was necessary the subject should be entirely dropped.

Madame de Pompadour was naturally fond of the arts, and of literature. When she was only Madame d'Etioles, she was attended by men of wit, and authors. Among these was Voltaire;—the favour of this Lady, served only to strengthen the attachment of this great poet, who, at that time, was likewise very ambitious. She employed him at first in her festivals; and, at the time of the Dauphin's marriage, he composed the *Princess of Navarre*, a comedy, with interludes, music, and singing. M. de la Poupeliniere, a Farmer General, and a man of letters, inserted some airs into it; Rameau had composed the music; and for all this the piece was not the better. The poet, however, was rewarded with the post of Gentleman of the bed-chamber in ordinary, without purchase. This was a present of about 60,000 livres *, and the more acceptable, as, a short time after, he obtained the singular favour of being allowed to sell his place, while he kept the title, privileges, and functions of it. He had himself jested upon this performance, and upon the excessive price he had received for it, in an extempore, which is little known.

My Henriad and my *Za-i-rt*,
My fair American *Alzire*,

† Two thousand five hundred pounds.

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1745.

Were all unnotic'd by the King;
 I'd many foes, and very little fame:
 Honours and wealth now plenteous spring,
 From a foolish thing,
 A farce that scarce deserves a name*.

The ill success of the *Princess of Navarre*, did not prevent the Marchioness of Pompadour from employing Voltaire on the King's return. The business was to celebrate, in a proper manner, the victories of this Monarch, and to crown him as a hero. He contrived an opera, intitled, the *Temple of Glory*. In this heroic ballet, Lewis XV. was indicated by the name of *Trajan*: he was not running after that Deity; she came to him, associated him to herself, and placed him in her temple, which was immediately changed into the temple of Public Felicity. This spectacle, first executed in the *petits appartements*, was represented by the Noblemen and Ladies of the Court, among whom the favourite shone conspicuous. She played the principal character, and we may imagine how well the Monarch must have been pleased, at seeing himself crowned at once by Glory and Love. A singular anecdote happened at this entertainment, the authenticity of which we had doubted, till we found it mentioned, without contradiction, in a work published under the auspices of the King's

* Mon *Henry quatre* & ma *Zaire*,
 Et mon *Americaine Alzire*,

Ne m'ont jamais valu un seul regard du Roi;
 J'avois mille ennemis, avec très peu de gloire:
 Les honneurs, & les biens pleuvent enfin sur moi,
 Pour une farce de la foire.

next

1745.

next brother†. Voltaire, on this day, when all etiquette was banished, being in the King's box behind his Majesty, towards the end of the piece, could not contain his rapture, and taking the Monarch in his arms, cried out with transport: *Well, Trajan, do you know yourself again?* Some of the guards immediately came up to punish this want of respect, and carried him off. But in the main, the extasy was too flattering to the King, who forgave the rash enthusiast.

To satisfy the extraordinary expences these diversions occasioned—and in which the favourite spared nothing, because they were the best and only methods of completing, and perpetuating the enchantment of her Royal slave—it was necessary that there should be a man, at the head of the finances, entirely at her disposal. M. Orry, still impressed with the economical principles of the old Cardinal, scrupled to consecrate to these superfluities, the treasures destined for the state. Besides, to the office of Comptroller General, he joined that of Director General of the public buildings, which she wanted to throw into her family. It was scarce possible to deprive this Minister of it, without a reason, whereas, by disgracing him entirely, his successor would think himself sufficiently enriched by the first spoil. This motive was too powerful for Madame de Pompadour to resist it, M. Orry was dismissed; and, as most persons in the same situation, he could not hold up against the general desertion which such an humiliation draws after it: he did not survive it two years.

4 Dec.

† See the *Journal de Monsieur*, published by Madame la Præsidente d'Ormy, in the month of November 1778.

He

1745.

He had been succeeded by M. de Machault d'Arnouville, Intendant of the province of Hainault, and son of a Machault still alive, who was surnamed *Machault coupe-tête* *, on account of the severity he had exercised during his magistracy. We shall hereafter see what the son was, who is going to advance by great strides in the career of Ministry. Though little inclined to servility, and of a resolute turn of mind, he gave way to circumstances, and suffered, without murmuring, the intended division. M. le Normant de Tourneheim, uncle to the Marchioness, obtained the post of Director General of the public buildings. This was only till it could be filled by M. Poisson, her brother; who had lately been metamorphosed into the Marquis de Vandieres: which gave occasion to some punsters to call him, *le Marquis d'avant hier* †. It was necessary to let this witticism be forgotten, as well as many others, before he could be intrusted with a post in Administration, which a Duke d'Antin, son of the Countess of Toulouse, had thought himself honoured with, not ten years before. But, by a very wise precaution, the survivorship of it, was given to him a month after.

15 Jan.
1746.

These subaltern intrigues amused the idleness of the Courtiers, while more important negotiations, for the tranquillity of Europe, were agitating in the several Cabinets of the Potentates. The King, in hopes of acquiring an ally in the north, or at least, to prevent her from becoming his enemy, had at length, in a public audience, caused the Czarina to be acknowledged Empress of all the Russias, by M. Dailon, his Minister at Petersburg. Three years had

* The executioner.

† The Marquis of the day before yesterday.

elapsed,

1745.

December.

elapsed, since, by a revolution as prudently contrived as it was happily executed, this Princess had been placed upon the throne; but France, ever circumspect, had waited to see her empire firmly established, before this step was taken. The French had at first met with a favourable reception, since the former Sovereign had entered indirectly into alliance with them, by declaring in favour of the King of Poland. But this assistance became very useless, in consequence of the private peace made by that Monarch; and we shall hereafter see, that the intrigues of their enemies, at the Court of Petersburg, prevailed so far against those of France, that they obtained a powerful succour from them. The treaty of Dresden, then publicly known, and the election of a new Emperor, were rather disagreeable events, which obliged the Courts of Versailles and Madrid to unite themselves more firmly together. Their victories still enabled them to give the law. That of Madrid sent to the former the Duke d'Huefcar, in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary. The business was, a treaty agreed upon between the King of Sardinia and the two Crowns; which, in order to counterbalance the defection of the Kings of Prussia and Poland, were endeavouring to draw away from their enemies the guardian of the Alps; a project so much the more prudent, as the Queen of Hungary was intending to resume her superiority in Italy, where the tranquil state of Germany permitted her to send a reinforcement of thirty thousand men. But this Prince, no less a politician than a skilful warrior, after having suffered the arrangements to go on almost to a conclusion, had availed himself of a fatal security, to surprize in Asti, at the very beginning of the campaign, the Marquis of

elapsed,

1746.5 March.

of Montal, and oblige him to surrender prisoner of war, with his troops ;—a revolution, which soon deprived the Infant of all his conquests in Lombardy. It was a matter of importance to prevent the fatal consequences that were foreseen; and Marshal Noailles had been dispatched to Madrid, to settle the future operations.

Lewis XV. was still desirous of peace, and proposed it: it was so much the more easily made on his part, as he neither required nor wished to keep any thing: yet these protestations were mistrusted, and he was forced to meditate new conquests. The Council was then employed upon two great objects. Prince Edward still maintained himself in Scotland. His partisans, to induce France to succour him, represented his situation much better than it really was. Had they been attended to, he wanted nothing but a reinforcement to complete the revolution, and re-ascend the throne of England. Lord Marshal, not less attached to his master, but more clear-sighted, or more sincere, was the only one among them who would not lead the Ministry into error. He gave them to understand, that without the most powerful and best-supported succours, both of men and money, it was not possible to hope for any real success;—that any thing short of this, would only serve to weaken France, and occasion the loss of those brave men, who would embrace the cause of this hero, whose only resources were courage and temerity. The frankness of this declaration determined the Government to take a middle course; which was, to favour the enterprize of the Pretender only as far as was consistent with prudence;—to deceive him, in order to deceive his enemies; and, by keeping up their fears

1746.

fears of an invasion, to facilitate conquests more real, and more solid. Preparations were therefore made at Calais, for an intended descent. At all hazards, a manifesto was even composed: a writer was employed, whose indiscretion, it was thought, would produce the happiest effect; and this will not be doubted, when we are informed, that this writer was Voltaire*. The Duke of Richelieu repaired to this port, and remained there some time, at the head of 30,000 men, always ready to embark, and sometimes even embarking. A squadron, commanded by M. de Roquefeuille, was cruising in the Channel, and gave much alarm to the English, who were obliged to keep a much superior force there. The consequence of these feints was, that, independent of their making so many naval forces useless, they kept upon the coast troops, which would have been sent to Scotland, to crush Prince Edward; or prevented them from crossing the sea, and going to Flanders.

In the mean while, Marshal Saxe had returned into Flanders, where he seemed employed only in the pleasures of winter, and of the Carnival. One fine night, while he was giving a ball to the Ladies of Lille, he caused Brussels to be invested: he opened the trenches a few days after, and pushed on the works with so much quickness, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, that, in less than a fortnight, the city was obliged to capitulate, and to leave in the hands of the King a garrison of nine thousand men, prisoners of war. This was a prelude to new conquests. The Dutch, seeing the troops of France draw

28 Jan.

20 Feb.

* We refer to the Appendix for the manifesto here spoken of, N° III.

1746. nearer and nearer to them, already repented that they had not preserved the neutrality: they were still apprehensive, that the moderation of Lewis XV. was not so sincere as he pretended; and that they should become the victims of a contest, in which, at any rate, they had nothing to gain. In vain had they communicated to their allies the King's proposals for peace. King George was too much irritated to see France raise a rival against him—secretly foment a rebellion in his dominions—and make preparations to support him more openly. The Queen of Hungary had just placed her husband on the Imperial throne;—she was disengaged from her most formidable and nearest enemy;—she could not consent to the dismembering of her states in Italy;—she knew that this country had always been fatal to the glory of France;—and she flattered herself that the French would again be repulsed from it, in the course of this year. The Dutch, reduced to the necessity of acting for their own preservation, when they learned the siege of Brussels, were alarmed at the opening of so premature a campaign; and, foreseeing the rapid consequences which must attend this first success, had recourse to their usual intreaties. They deputed Count Wassenaer to Versailles, in quality of Minister Plenipotentiary. He was commissioned to impart to his Majesty their affliction, their fears, and their confidence. He had an audience on the 27th of February;—received fresh assurances of the good intentions of the conqueror;—but he could not obtain any alteration in the projected plan of operations. On the 26th of April, M. Gilles, another Deputy from the Republic, with new intreaties, and fresh proposals, had not any greater influence. The King, deter-
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1746.

mined to make a third campaign, set out a few days after. The Dauphin asked his leave to accompany him, which he flattered himself the more easily to obtain, as the Dauphiness was with child: but the Ministers, apprehending the austere disposition of this Prince, and his too great penetration, dissuaded the Monarch from complying with his request. They concealed the real motive of this advice, under their fear of the young Prince's rashness, whose ardour had been contained with so much difficulty at Fontenoi, and would only grow more impetuous, in proportion as he became more familiar with war. The King, who also dreaded this witness of his weakness, was not displeased to have such a pretence suggested to him. He preferred his mistress to his son. The Marchioness had entirely subdued the Monarch. She was desirous of partaking freely of the homage of the conquered cities; and this arrangement diminished still, in some degree, the affection of the people for their master. But if the love of the people was cooled, their admiration was increased by the eclat of the new victories. It was not considered who obtained them; for, the King being present, every thing was referred to him. He apparently filled the first duty of a father of his subjects, to expose himself for their defence, and to bring back peace and plenty, the sources of public happiness.

Lewis XV. on the 4th of May, made his entrance into Brussels; the Magistrates, with the corporation, received and harangued him at the gates of the city, and Count Lowendhal, appointed Governor, presented the keys to him. His Majesty placed himself at the head of his army, which marched in

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1746. six columns. The fortresses were evacuated, or surrendered themselves at the King's approach; so that in a month's time he made his entrance into Antwerp, and thus took possession of the two capitals of the Netherlands. He completed the conquest of almost all of them, either by himself, by the Princes of the blood, or by his Generals; for he had been obliged to leave the army in June, to go to Versailles, on account of the Dauphiness being brought to bed. The successes were not less rapid under Marshal Saxe, to whom his Majesty left the chief command. Prince Charles had come this year to command the allied army, and had not been able to check the loss of so many provinces. In the month of October, Marshal Saxe, who loved the troops, and took care of them, compassionating their fatigues during a long campaign, begun since the month of January, made proposals to his enemy, by a trumpet, to go into winter-quarters, communicating to him the motives of humanity which urged him to this. Prince Charles answered with haughtiness, that he had neither orders nor advice to receive from him. "Well," answered the Marshal, "I'll take good care to force him to it." Accordingly, he gave orders to prepare for action the day after the next. Notwithstanding this, a play was acted in camp the evening before, and Madame Favart, who was then the Marshal's mistress, when the play was over, came forward and addressed the audience in these words: *Gentlemen, to-morrow we shall not appear before you, on account of the battle; the next day we shall have the honour to represent to you, &c.* This speech, which at any other time would have been a gasconade, was only calculated, on this occasion,

caution,

1746.

caſion, to ſhew the confidence the troops had in their leader, and the certainty of victory. In conſequence of the Maſtral's diſpoſitions, the action was a bloody one: the enemy left 12,000 men upon the field, and 3,000 priſoners, while the French loſt only 1,000 men. The night coming on, prevented the allied army from being deſtroyed in it's retreat.

After this engagement, called the *battle of Raucaux*, the Chevalier d'Aubeterre appearing ſmitten with the good countenance and martial air of an Engliſh priſoner, ſaid to him: *if we had had 50,000 men ſuch as you in the enemy's army, we ſhould have found it difficult to beat them.* The ſoldier replied with readineſs: *there were men enough like me, but we wanted one like Maſtral Saxe.*

The affairs of the two crowns were not nearly in ſo good a ſtate in Italy. Since the death of Philip V. the face of them had been entirely changed. This Prince—who, after having had the weakneſs to quit the throne in order to attend to his ſalvation, had had the ſtill greater weakneſs to renounce the care of his ſalvation, in order to re-aſcend the Throne—received at leaſt ſome degree of energy from his wife. She had already fixed one of her ſons King of Naples, and was attempting to reſtore to the other the patrimony of his Houſe; ſhe ſupported the puſillanimity of her huſband. She could not exert an equal influence over the ſucceſſor, who, born of another bed, had not the ſame deference for her; but, being of the blood of Savoy by his mother's ſide, was more inclined in favour of the King of Sardinia, beſides, that he miſtruſted the ambitious views of his mother-in-law.

VOL. II.

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1746.

His first act of authority, was to recall his troops from Italy. The battle of Placentia had just been lost; the troops had retired into the State of Genoa, which they were obliged to quit, and the two armies returned into Provence.

7 Sept.

The Imperial army, after having retaken in this campaign all the posts they had lost in the preceding one, presented themselves before Genoa. The Senate, no longer in hopes of any succour, and fearing an irritated conqueror, opened its gates to General Nadaſti—agreed, by capitulation, that the garrison should be prisoners—consented to send the Doge with six Senators (as formerly, to Lewis XIV.) to make their excuses to the Queen of Hungary, for having connected themselves with her enemies, and implore her clemency—and engaged themselves to pay down immediately the sum of 50,000 genouines, amounting to about 400,000 livres * of French money, to be distributed among the German troops. The Marquis of Botta d'Adorno, was established Commandant in the city.

Three days after this, the Austrian Commissaries demanded a fresh contribution of three millions of genouines †, to be paid by installments, the longest of which was to be a fortnight. The State was unable to make this payment; the bank was exhausted, credit lost, and commerce ruined; all the lands were ravaged, the beautiful villas which embellished the outside of the city were pillaged: the inhabitants were treated as slaves by the sol-

* Between sixteen and seventeen thousand pounds.

† Near one million sterling.

1746.

5 Dec.

diers; they had nothing but life to lose, and no resource left but in despair. These weak people, bred at a distance from arms, incensed at seeing the principal artillery of their capital carried off, forced to labour themselves, and beaten like beasts of burden, revolted, attacked the garrison, beat them, drove them out of the city, and repulsed them as far as beyond the frontiers. They broke the yoke of an enemy, from which neither their surrounding rocks, nor the Kings of France, Spain, and Naples, had been able to save them, and from which they had not been able to defend themselves some months before, when it would have been a more easy matter. This glorious example was imitated by the inhabitants of the country; and the Republic, entirely freed from German troops, recovered it's liberty in a few days.

There is certainly no success but what is owing to the faults of the adversary. Discouragement and consternation had ruined this state; which had become the property of the Austrians. The pusillanimity of the Commandant, who amused himself with negotiations instead of fighting, gave the Genoese all the time they wanted, to collect, to fortify themselves, to make their dispositions, and to chuse their Chiefs. He trusted the Senators, who upon this occasion acted a strange part. Under-hand they were exciting their fellow-citizens, and were at the same time taking apparent measures with the Marquis of Botta, to make the insurgents return to their submission. This body of the State did not concern itself in the revolution, and caused it to be disavowed at Vienna by the Minister; who declared, that the Nobility had no share in this change, which

1746.

was called a revolt. This conduct authorized the Council of that Court to assume again the right of the conqueror; they signified, that the Republic should not only furnish the remainder of the contributions levied, but they also demanded more, for the damages done to their troops; they required, that all the prisoners, to the number of four thousand, should be restored, and especially, that the insurgents should be brought to justice. These hard laws, which gave the Genoese to understand what they had to fear, if they again were in the power of the conqueror, confirmed them in their resolution to defend themselves, and to die for their country. The circumstance that particularly hurt the pride of this regal Republic, was, to see Corsica slip out of their hands, insult their distress, and recover it's liberty, which it had so long disputed with the Republic.

Notwithstanding this courage and these efforts, the Genoese, though victorious in their city, were not sufficiently inured to war to keep the field. Had they been left to themselves, they would have given way to the regular troops. Count Schulembourg, who succeeded the Marquis of Botta, continued to press them still more closely in their city. They were soon blocked up by sea and by land, for the Austrians were assisted by an English squadron. France, whose destiny it was in this war to sacrifice itself continually for it's allies, sent them succours of money and men, and especially of Commanders. This was the more generous, as that kingdom was then alarmed for it's own safety.

The Austrian and Piedmontese army, protected by a fleet of his Britannic Majesty, had passed the
Var

Var and entered into Provence. The enemy were already in possession of a third of the province; they had advanced as far as the river Argens, with an intention of falling upon Toulon and Marseilles, under favour of the English navy. They took at first the islands of Saint Margaret and Saint Honorat, known to contain great numbers of victims of ministerial vengeance. These unfortunate people reckoned that they should gain their liberty. For their misfortune it happened, that the Commandant, an old officer, frightened with the bombs which the enemy's fleet fired upon him, capitulated so soon, that he was permitted to carry off his prisoners, with the other effects belonging to the King, and his little garrison. He was tried by a court-martial, and condemned to prison, for having surrendered with such precipitation. This was the only lasting example of the severity of military laws during this war, and unfortunately it was a very useless one, inasmuch as it was exercised upon an obscure officer, who being without protection, and without support, was therefore a greater object of indulgence.

1746.

30 Nov.

1747.

The Marquis de Mirepoix, who commanded in these parts, had been able to do nothing more, with some brigades which he had, than to harass the enemy and retard their march. To stop their progress, Marshal Belleisle was pitched upon; he was very well adapted for this tricking kind of war, which required a spirit of order, of detail, and of combination.

When he arrived, the allies had laid siege to Antibes. The English bombarded it by sea, while the

16 Jan.

1747.

Austrians carried on the siege in form. The French had no navy at Toulon fit to make head against the former, who had been for a long time masters of the Mediterranean. The coasts were defended only by frightened militia; the troops, without discipline, took the hay and straw from each other by force; the mules, which conveyed provisions, died for want of food: the enemy had ransomed every thing, and had destroyed all from the Var to the river Argens and the Durance. The Marshal could only at first be employed in viewing the deplorable State, and the discouragement of the province and the troops. He met with Don Philip and the Duke of Modena at Aix, without any army, theirs being dissolved for want of provisions; and he did the office of Intendant and Commissary of stores. At length, the reinforcements being arrived, and the Marshal being seconded by the Marquis de la Mina, Commander of the Spanish troops, caused the siege of Antibes to be raised. By skilful movements of his army, he made Count Brown, the General of the enemy, apprehensive that he should be shut up in Provence without hopes of a retreat; which obliged him to repass the Var in confusion, and with precipitation, leaving to the French part of his artillery and all his provisions; a small indemnity for the contributions he had levied, and especially the devastations and the pillage exercised by his troops. Two circumstances contributed chiefly to this delivery; the want of subsistence, which the enemy could no longer procure by the way of Genoa, an essential point, which makes most invasions ineffectual; and the perfect harmony subsisting between the

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the Marquis de la Mina and Marshal Belleisle, whose conciliating disposition effected this miracle. 1747.

This fortunate event furnished an opportunity of supplying the Genoese with the promised succours. The Duke of Boufflers died there; but, as he was carried off by the small-pox, he could not say with Mithridates in Racine :

*: And my last look hath seen the Romans fly *.*

It was Marshal Belleisle, who, after having caused the islands of Saint Margaret to be retaken by his brother, in sight of the English fleet, had the boldness, in order to make a diversion, to penetrate, in his turn, into the dominions of the King of Sardinia, to threaten Piedmont, and to force that Prince to recall his troops from the blockade of Genoa; which enfeebled the Imperialists so much, that the Court of Vienna ordered the siege to be raised; and this movement obliged the English squadron, now become useless, to retire. The Duke of Richelieu, fortunate in every thing, being appointed by the King to succeed the Duke of Boufflers at Genoa, came to reap the glory and the honours destined to the latter. He prevented this city from falling again into the hands of the Queen of Hungary, during the war. In acknowledgment, he was created a Nobleman of Genoa, was inscribed in the golden book, and a statue was erected to him in that immense and superb saloon in the palace of the Doge, where all the great men who have

* "Et mes derniers regards ont vu fuir les Romains."

1747. defended or illustrated this Republic are exhibited in the same manner.

19 July. The only disagreeable and remarkable event of this war in Italy, was the affair of Exilles, where Count Belleisle, having had the imprudence to attack the intrenchments, contrary to the advice of officers more knowing, more experienced, and better acquainted with the spot, added to it the false shame of not daring to avow his error, and chose rather to expiate his fault by a courageous, though useless death; an obstinacy equally mad and criminal, since it necessarily involved in his loss that of a number of brave men, obliged to follow his example, such as Messieurs d'Arnaud, de Goas, de Grille, and de Donge.

16 April,
1746.

The Genoese were the only allies that France succoured effectually during this war. That kingdom had procured the Imperial Crown to Charles VII. and had made him lose his dominions; the Duke of Modena, driven long since from his, had nothing but the vain title of Generalissimo; Don Philip had not preserved the least of his conquests, and the Pretender was concerned at having only been employed to raise the alarms of his enemies. That Prince, after having struggled more than a year against his evil destiny, had returned into France. The battle of Culloden, which he had lost in Scotland, against the Duke of Cumberland, had reduced him to the state of a fugitive and an exile. Wandering for several months, and concealed among the mountains, he had thought himself happy in escaping from the pursuits of his enemies, and withdrawing himself from their rage. Paris saw with regret the return of this unfortunate Prince. Those who were not thoroughly

1747.

roughly acquainted with the invincible obstacles to his success, attributed his retreat to the slender efforts France had made in his favour; they were incensed against the Ministry, which had made him the sport of their politics: but the behaviour he soon afterwards assumed, diminished the concern they took in his cause, and rendered him an object of contempt and even of aversion. Whether it were to shake off the recollection of his misfortunes, or from real insensibility, or in the hope of keeping up the alarms of his rival King George, by his apparent security, while his most zealous supporters were dragging to the scaffold, he was observed affecting to shew himself in public, and being present at all the public spectacles, balls, and festivals, that took place during the winter. He chose for his mistress the Princess of Talmont, one of the most extravagant women of the Court, and the best calculated to make him lose his glory and his reputation. At length he plunged himself into debauchery and infamy, by giving himself up to the most shameful excesses of the table. Some one of the persons attached to him, ventured to represent the indecency of his conduct; he described to him the desolation of so many illustrious houses, that mourned for having taken up his defence: the Prince made an answer which we dare not repeat, and which, indeed, would not be credited; but the least disgusting sense of which was, that he had already the same ingratitude and the same hardness of heart as if he had been born upon the throne. The real cause of his ruin was his distrust of Lord Marshal. Being informed of the frankness with which that Nobleman had spoken to the Court of France, the Pretender was displeased

1747. with him for it; listening to his vile adulators, he separated himself from him; and this zealous servant, who, for thirty years past, had given the strongest proofs of his attachment to the House of Stuart, repented of having made so many sacrifices, for a Prince, whom humiliation could not render more worthy of the throne.

22 July.
1746.

Undoubtedly, the most remarkable event during this winter was the second marriage of the Dauphin. This Prince had lost his august consort from the consequences of a lying-in. The grief he felt for this loss was extreme, and, if it had been necessary to wait the termination of his affliction, before a second marriage had been proposed to him, the time would have been too long for the impatience of France, which saw with regret, that his only child was a daughter. His tenderness was obliged to yield to reasons of State, and he consented to his new nuptials. The choice astonished all the Powers, when it was known that it had fallen upon a Princess of Saxony—upon the daughter of a King who filled the throne of the father-in-law of Lewis XV.—of a King in strict union with their enemy, and who had lately seen the King of Prussia, in alliance with France, laying waste his dominions in concert with that Power. But the resentment of Princes does not leave such deep vestiges as that of individuals. The same policy, which obliges them easily to forget benefits, prevails equally in making them forget injuries. Besides, this was the only Princess who was most suitable to circumstances. Spain had now no Princess to bestow. Portugal, indeed, had one that was marriageable; but an alliance with that kingdom, entirely under the influence of England, presented no advantage: France was in

war

1747,

war with the King of Sardinia, whose daughter, though older, might otherwise have suited; the alliance with Bayaria had been recently too fatal to wish to renew it. Besides, Marshal Saxe, whose name was at that time spread over France, and over all Europe, being natural uncle to the young Princess, contributed not a little, by his insinuations, to determine the Court of France to make this demand; which, as it may be judged, was very agreeable to the Court of Poland. The future Dauphiness was not the person the least satisfied.

The Duke de Richelieu, whose favour was daily increasing—employed alternately in war, in negotiations, in intrigues of gallantry, and in ceremonies of parade, and so well adapted to all these several functions—being appointed Ambassador extraordinary from the King, made the demand of this Princess at Dresden; to whose mind this circumstance recalled an anecdote, which she has related herself at Versailles to the Abbé Foldini, her confessor*. When she was about thirteen years of age, she was induced by curiosity to visit the monastery of Ladies of the Holy Sacrament at Warsaw. An old nun presented herself to the Princess, and stopping her, took her by the hand: “Madam,” said she to her, “do you know me?—Yes, you are the mother *St. Jean*.—Certainly: but my name is also *Dauphine*; and I declare to you, recollect it one day, that one *Dauphine*, takes another *Dauphine* † by the hand.” This

7 Jan.

* As this anecdote requires to be supported by authority, we have taken it from the *Life of the Dauphin, father to Lewis XVI.* written from the *Memoirs of the Court, and presented to the King and Royal family by the Abbé Proyart.*

† *Dauphine* in French signifies the Dauphiness, and is also a proper name.

compliment,

1747.

compliment, which would have been a flattering one, had it not been made exactly at the time of the Dauphin's first marriage, was then very impertinent and indecent. The great age of the prophetess pleaded her excuse, and she was considered merely as a prating old woman. It has since been asserted, that this nun lived in great repute for sanctity.

87 Jan.

However this may be, the event, foretold or not, took place at first at Dresden, the nuptials being consecrated by the Nuncio. The Princess was conveyed to a peninsula of the Rhine, near to the fortress of La Pile, where Prince Loubomirski delivered her into the hands of the Marshal de la Fare, and of the Dutchess of Brancas, commissioned by the King to receive her.

The Courtiers did not find her pretty. Two days before she arrived at Court, the King and the Dauphin set forwards to meet her, which they did near Brie-Comte-Robert. The Princess got out of her carriage first, and hastened to throw herself at the King's feet, asking him for his friendship. His Majesty raised her up, and having embraced her, presented her to the Dauphin.

The Dauphiness must have been possessed of a great many charms, to be able to obliterate from his memory the one he lamented. Accordingly, when the Dauphin, on the first night of his nuptials, entered her apartment, at the sight of several pieces of furniture, which recalled this tender recollection, all the sensations of grief acquired fresh force, and he was incapable of restraining his tears. The Dauphiness observed this, she seemed herself affected with it, and said to him: *Sir, give a free vent to your tears, and do not fear that I should be offended by them: they*
show

1747.

show me, on the contrary, what I have a right to expect myself, if I am fortunate enough to deserve your esteem. She really did deserve it, but never gained his heart to such a degree as the preceding Dauphiness had possessed it. She had, however, infinitely greater resources in point of understanding. Her education, as that of all the northern Princesses, had been carefully attended to. Beside her native tongue, she had been taught Latin, French, Italian, history, and drawing: several other useful and ornamental acquisitions had entered into the plan of her studies, and her extraordinary eagerness for information had occasioned her to make great proficiency in every thing. This gave an opportunity to Voltaire, that delicate Courtier, so skilful in availing himself of the inclinations and passions of his masters, the better to flatter them, to address the new Dauphiness in those philosophical stanzas, which every one knows by heart, and in which he makes an ingenious and lively contrast between the busy, studious, and active life of the Dauphiness, and the void, indolence, and tædium of that of the Queen. His satyrical genius was hurtful to him upon this occasion. The Princess was less flattered with the encomiums which he lavished upon her, than incensed that he should think her capable of approving the ridicule he cast upon her Majesty. He was obliged to disavow the piece, and since, when he had it printed, he retrenched the name of the heroine, and supposed that it had been written for an anonymous Princess.

The situation of the Dauphiness, with respect to the Queen, was a very embarrassing one. She could not appear, without trembling, before a mother-in-law, whose father had been dethroned by her's. Religion

1747.

ligion completed in time the extinction of those sentiments of aversion in the heart of her Majesty, which policy could only restrain. But the young Princess concurred as much as in her power to produce this change. The third day after her marriage, according to etiquette, she was to wear the picture of the King her father in a bracelet. Although they had already made mutual protestations very sincerely to each other, to forget the past, yet we may judge how much the daughter of Stanislaus must feel, at seeing the portrait of Augustus III. sparkle before her eyes, as it were in triumph, in her own palace. Part of the fatal day had already elapsed, before any one had the boldness to look upon this ornament, more brilliant than any the Dauphiness had hitherto worn. The Queen first ventured to speak, and cast her eyes upon it; *This is then, my daughter, said she, the picture of the King your father? Yes, Mamma,* answered the Dauphiness, presenting her arm to her Majesty; *see how like it is.* It was the picture of Stanislaus. Accordingly, since that time, both the King and the Queen, penetrated with gratitude for this piece of gallantry, in which the heart was still more concerned than the understanding, adopted her as their daughter, and lived upon the best terms with her and all her family.

The Dauphin's nuptials could not take place, without the whole kingdom participating in them by public rejoicings. The balls at Versailles particularly attracted their attention; some anecdotes passed there, which deserve to be recorded. It is well known, that at the *Bal-paré*, nothing is admitted but what is magnificent; the Noblemen, the most streightened in their circumstances, are obliged to exhaust

1747.

exhaust their finances to appear there with éclat. The tradesmen of Paris, always eager to partake of the pleasures of the Court, are very desirous of going there ; but they can only attend as simple spectators. The women are no less desirous of making their appearance. These are placed upon raised seats, in order that they may be seen, and great care is taken to choose the prettiest of them to be exposed to the view of the Court: the men are ranged upon the side. One person having put himself on a seat designed for others, the officer of the body-guards wanted to turn him out ; he resisted ; but the officer insisting, the Gentleman, who, without doubt, had reasons for being in disguise, growing outrageously impatient, addressed him to the following purport : *You be d—d, Sir, and if that does not suit you, I am such a one, Colonel of the regiment of Champagne.* This quarrel made some noise, and was spread throughout the saloon. Soon after, a Lady, who was also desired to change her place, finding herself too much troubled, cried out ; *You may do what you please, but I am also of the regiment of Champagne.* Since that period, this phrase, substituted to the too strong expression of the Colonel, has passed into a proverb, and says the same thing in a more decent manner.

The masked ball is more open ; for with tickets every person is indiscriminately admitted. The Marchioness of Pompadour was apprehensive, that advantage would be taken of this festival, to separate the King from her. She was upon her guard, and so well served by her emissaries, that the several attempts of the women, who had views upon the heart of the Monarch, failed, or at least were attended with no disagreeable consequences to her. One original
and

1747. and comical scene made a diversion from the adventures of gallantry, and amused the Monarch much. A buffet, splendidly furnished, offered refreshments in profusion to the performers at the ball. A mask in a yellow domino came there frequently, and made dreadful havock among the cooling liquors, the exquisite wines, and all the solid provisions. No sooner did this mask disappear, than he came back again more thirsty and more hungry than ever. He was observed by some masks, who shewed him to others. The yellow domino became the object of universal curiosity. His Majesty wished to see him, and, anxious to know whom he was, had him followed; it was found that this was a domino belonging in common to the hundred Swiss, who putting it on alternately, succeeded each other at this post, which was not the worst in the room. It is well known that one of the hundred Swiss, who is equal to three or four men in corpulence, devours full as much as ten; so that it was just as if a thousand mouths had been fed at the buffet.

The most distinguished Nobleman at the nuptials of the Dauphiness was Marshal Saxe. The glory of this hero covered too well the flaw of his birth, for the Princess to disavow such a relation. All France regretted, not to have given him birth; they envied his country this happiness, and had just adopted him: he, who was a Frenchman at heart, desired to be considered as such, and had asked and obtained letters of naturalization. After the battle of Raucoux, the King had given him six pieces of canon, from among those that had been taken from the enemy. It is thus that Lewis XIV. had formerly rewarded Villars. At length he had lately appointed him
 Marshal

26 April,
1746.

1 Nov.
1746.

Marshal General of his camps and armies, a title formerly granted to Turenne. So many distinctions, though so justly merited, could not fail of exciting the jealousy of the Courtiers, and especially of the Ministers, against this foreigner, (for he was still considered in that light) inasmuch as he gained more and more the confidence of his Majesty. They resolved to labour effectually at peace, in order to stop the course of his triumphs, and his increase of authority.

In consequence of the King's proposals, conferences were holden at Breda, where the Marquis of Puy-sieux had been sent in quality of Minister Plenipotentiary from France, to consult with those of England and Holland upon the means of reconciliation between the Powers. The resignation of the Marquis d'Argenson, which happened during this interval, retarded the great business which was now in agitation. It has already been observed, that the department of foreign affairs was neither suitable to his turn of mind nor to his character. Disgust, and his aversion to perpetual dissimulation, which was always contradictory to his chearful disposition, and to his frankness, appear to be the only motives that can have induced him to retire, for which want of health is the usual pretence upon such occasions. In order not to lose the thread of the negotiations already begun, M. de Puy-sieux was promoted to the vacant ministry. This reason of propriety was nearly also the only one of his elevation. He was succeeded in his functions at Breda by M. Dutheil, Secretary of the King's closet, who was full as able as he. The English, who were not yet sound— who had obtained considerable advantages at sea,

1747.

12 Jan.

1747.

7 Sept.

1746.

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1747.

and flattered themselves with more, and who saw that they had nothing but restitutions to make at the peace—gave little credit to the moderation of Lewis XV. Before they concluded, they wished to retaliate upon the inhabitants of France, the terror which the Pretender, at the instigation of that Power, had excited in the three kingdoms. They did not speak sincerely, and spun out their negotiations.

They had just received an humiliation at Port l'Orient, and this was an additional incitement to their vanity: for they wished to wipe off this stain by some more fortunate expedition. Their project had been, while devastation was carrying on in Provence, to ruin this port, and with it the India Company—to make themselves masters of Port Lewis, which would have fallen after Port l'Orient—to lay Brittany under contributions to excite an insurrection among the Calvinists towards la Rochelle, as towards Languedoc and the Dauphiny. A mistake occasioned the failure of this enterprize on the one part; while, on the other, they were repulsed by the courage, skill, and genius of Marshal Belleisle.

We may judge of the state of the coast when the enemy appeared there, from the following account of it, written by an old officer who commanded at Port Lewis.

"I perceived," said he, "on the 28th of September, " a fleet, which seems to multiply ad infinitum; " but I shall easily make head against this *Anglican* " *nation*." On the 2d of October, he wrote: " They are landed at Polduc, with three hundred and " fifty flat-bottom boats, and fifty-five men of " war. If we had muskets, we could beat them; " but

"but the peasants have no arms except pitch-forks."

1747.

The descent was effected without opposition by General Sinclair, with five thousand regulars. The French Commandant, whose name was l'Hopital, had some artillery and twelve thousand militia. The English having threatened to spread fire and sword in every part, if they met with any resistance, the French were seized with terror, and they capitulated the first day of the attack, that is, five days after the landing; for this time had been lost by the enemy, and the French had not turned it to better advantage. It seemed as if there were a challenge between them, who should commit the most faults. Instead of beating the chamade, the drums of the militia, little acquainted with their exercise, beat the general. Sinclair was at a loss to know what this meant, and was apprehensive of some treachery. In the mean while the wind shifted; of which Admiral Lestock gave notice by a signal. The English thinking they should be attacked, without being able to reembark, were seized with a panic. They fled before the French, who were bringing them the keys, and were astonished to find no one in the camp. They got nothing but ridicule and hootings, and went to land at Quiberon, a small desert and arid island. This was a piece of revenge, as ill contrived as the former was ill executed: it was a new folly added to the first.

3 Sept.
1746.

8 Sept.
1746.

The Dutch were not more resolute, or rather, their republic was divided into two factions. The Merchants were sincerely desirous of peace; but the Nobility, encouraged by the faction of the Prince of Orange—which flattered itself, that by the continuation

1747.

of the war a change would be brought about in the Administration, and that it might avail itself of the troubles for its own aggrandizement—was opposed to the other party, and prevailed over it. To force them to agree, by inspiring them with a salutary terror, it was resolved that the Dutch should be more closely pressed.

17 April.

The Abbé de la Ville, the King's Minister at the Hague, presented to the States General from his master, a declaration; the substance of which was, that in the same manner as they had sent, in 1744, forty thousand of their troops into the plains of Lisle and Cisoing, upon the territory of France, without intending to make war against the King; so his Majesty—who was obliged by the circumstances, and for the preservation of the conquests he had obtained over the Queen of Hungary, to make his troops enter upon the territories of the Republic—had yet no design to break with them, but only to prevent the dangerous effects of the protection granted by the Republic to the Queen of Hungary's troops,—promising likewise to consider the countries and places, which his Majesty's troops should be obliged to occupy for their own security, merely as a deposit, which he engaged himself to restore, as soon as the United Provinces should furnish no more succours to his enemies.

This notice was a signal for hostilities, and was followed by rapid conquests, which astonished the Dutch, and gave birth to the event, which was the object of the Duke of Cumberland's negotiations at the Hague during the winter.

4 May.

The Prince of Nassau was declared Stadtholder, Admiral and Captain General of the United Provinces,

1747.

17 May.

ces, first by the people, and afterwards by the States General, in all the provinces. Soon after, the nation, in the first moments of their enthusiasm, laboured to make these chains indissoluble, by declaring, as they had done in favour of William III. afterwards King of England, the Stadtholdership hereditary in this house, even in favour of the female line; upon condition, however, that the Princesses who were to inherit, should not have married either a King or an Elector. The Dictatorship is the model of the Stadtholder's dignity; but the Romans did not carry their adulation so far, as to expose themselves to have a female Dictator.

The Republic wanted a protector, and not a master. The appointment of the Stadtholder did not prevent the King's army, which had entered into Zeeland a fortnight before, from advancing, and taking several places, in sight of the enemy's troops. The negotiations were then suspended. M. Van Hoey continued still to reside in France, in quality of Ambassador; but the French did what they could to disgust him, by raillery, and by turning him into ridicule; he was not the sort of man to put up with this. One evening, when he was at supper at the Marquis de la-Fontaine's, at the desert a large Dutch cheese was brought upon the table: *Monsieur l'Ambassadeur*, said the master of the house to him, *here is some of the fruit of your country*. The Ambassador could not stand this; he rose up hastily, put his hand into his pocket, and throwing a handful of ducats upon the table, cried out, *There's some too*. A little time after he left Paris.

Messieurs Dutheil and Macanas, Plenipotentiaries of France and Spain, declared, on their part, to the

1747.

Ministers of the other Powers, that the proximity of the armies did not allow the conferences to be holden at Breda, and that their masters would consent that a Congress should be holden at Treves, at Cologne, or at Aix-la-Chapelle.

July.

The King made this fourth campaign, and gained in person, against the Duke of Cumberland, the battle of Lawfeld, less contested and more bloody than that of Fontenoi—where Count Clermont and Count d'Etrees signalized themselves—where the Count of Baviere was killed, and General Ligonier taken prisoner. His Majesty slept that night, where the English Prince had slept the night before.

15 Sept.

The French did not stop : Bergen-op-Zoom, furnished the virgin town, was besieged :—this fortress, which had defied the genius of Spinola, was one of the strongest places in the Low Countries, from its fortifications, and from the morasses which surround it, and prevent it from being entirely invested. The circumstance which ought to have inspired the inhabitants with greater security upon this occasion, was, that it had the advantage of being continually supplied with fresh troops. It kept up a communication with Count Swartzenberg's army, which could not be cut off. It was valour alone that was to get the better of this city, which was taken by assault, after seventy-five days open trenches. The plunder of it could not be prevented, which is the most powerful allurements to the soldier, in these sort of expeditions. A considerable booty was collected from it. This conquest was owing to Count Lowendhal. This Danish Nobleman, a companion to Marshal Saxe, was not so great a Commander as he, but he was one of the best-informed men in Europe ;
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1747.

it is even said, that he spoke fourteen languages. He took the same care of preserving his troops, as the Marshal, and, in his letter to that General, he computes his loss at 400 men only, and that of the enemy at 5000, either killed or wounded : a very extraordinary disproportion, which proves to how great a degree he possessed this rare quality. The King, when he was informed of the capture of Bergen-op-Zoom, remarked, as a humiliating circumstance to France, that his two greatest Captains were foreigners, and that the kingdom produced no more such as it formerly did : *The reason of that*, replied the Prince of Conti, who was present, is, *that our women give themselves up to their footmen*. Madame de Lowendhal coming in to the Monarch, he received her as the wife of a hero, and said to her ; *Madam, every body will gain by this conquest ; I present your husband with the bâton of Marshal, and I hope to deliver my subjects from the scourge of war*. He appointed, at the same time, Marshal Saxe Commandant of the Netherlands ; and before he left the campaign, he appeared again as eager for peace, as if he had been beaten. The Abbé de la Ville was commissioned to declare to the States General, that his master's principles of moderation had not undergone any change from his new victories.

The Dutch, convinced at last of the sincerity of Lewis XV. thought seriously of availing themselves of this opening. They pressed England to accede to it, and the Earl of Sandwich wrote to the Marquis de Puyfieux, to propose to him to resume the conferences for a peace at Aix-la-Chapelle. The proposal was accepted, and soon produced that astonishing treaty, in which France, which had ex-

28 Sept.

1747.

hausted it's blood and treasure in this war, though victorious for five years, did not only reap no advantage, and require no indemnity, but submitted even to receive the law it might have dictated.

We have been at Aix-la-Chapelle, where we have seen the hall in which the conferences were holden, the table on which the Peace was signed, and where the following anecdote has been related to us. The Earl of Sandwich—who was surprized at the facility he met with from the King's Plenipotentiaries, who asked for nothing, who acceded to every thing, and who granted every thing—apprehending some underhand game, had written to his spies at Versailles, who had answered him, that he might proceed with security; that they were certain of the Ministers, who were too jealous of the ascendant which Marshal Saxe had over the Monarch, and of the favourite, who was tired of a wandering life: that they were all leagued together, to put an end to the war at any rate. The navy was becoming more and more the weak side of France; and it was by exaggerating the losses of the kingdom in this branch, as well as those it was still threatened with, that Lewis XV. was intimidated, and induced to make sacrifices the most injurious to his glory.

It is true, that in 1746 the Squadron of the Duke d'Anville had failed in an enterprize against Acadia. The misunderstanding that prevailed among the Captains—jealous of this Nobleman, whom they called an intruder, because he had not passed through all the inferior steps—was the cause of it. Not only they refused to direct his inexperience, but they contributed also to make him commit mistakes, which they afterwards reproached him with, and of which
he

1747.

he died from grief. The English had taken the *Mars*, and the remains of the scattered fleet had brought nothing but the plague back to Brest, as the sole consequence of their expedition. But M. Du-
bois de la Motte, who had served with Dugué Trou-
in, escorting a fleet of merchantmen to St. Domin-
go, with only one man of war, *le Magnanime*, of
seventy-four guns, and the frigate *l'Etoile*, of forty,
had defended himself against four English men of
war, two of which were of eighty guns, had put
them to flight, and had arrived safe in port to the
place of his destination: and M. de la Bourdon-
nais, Governor of the isle of Bourbon, after having
beaten and dispersed, with a squadron of nine ships,
the English fleet under Admiral Barnet, had made a
descent near the city of Madras, had taken possession
of it, and had received 1,100,000 pagodas for it's
ransom, together with ammunition and merchandize
to the amount of 500,000 pagodas, making in all,
from thirteen to fourteen millions of livres*; and
M. Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, thinking
these terms too advantageous for the enemy, had
refused to ratify them.

15 Sept.

21 Sept.

In 1747, the King's navy had been prodigiously
weakened, in two unequal actions it had had to sus-
tain; and the pride of the English had increased up-
on this. The first had taken place near Cape Finis-
terre, between the squadron of the Marquis de la
Junquiere, consisting only of four ships and five
frigates, and the naval armament of Admiral Anson,
in which were sixteen ships of the line, which had
surrounded the French in such a manner, that not one

14 June

* From near five hundred and forty-two thousand, to upwards
of five hundred and eighty thousand pounds.

1747. of them escaped. The second had passed in America, where the naval force of Admiral Hawke, consisting of twenty vessels of the first size, had fallen in with the Squadron of M. de l'Estenduere, composed only of eight ships, of which none had escaped, except the Admiral's ship, and *le Tonnant*, on board of which was M. de Vaudreuil, a simple Captain of a ship; who, by a bold and skilful manœuvre, had taken *l'Intrépide* in tow. But the two fleets, under the escort of both these squadrons, had arrived at the place of their destination.

1748. At the beginning of 1748, *le Magnanime*, com-
21 Feb. manded by Count Albert, on her return from America, being dismasted by a storm, had been obliged to surrender, but after an engagement of eight hours, sustained against four ships of the enemy.

In a word, M. de Moutlouet, both upon the coast of Guinea, and in America, where he had met with the English in greater force, had extricated himself with dexterity and firmness from these two hazardous situations.

From these circumstances it appears, that if the Royal navy had fallen a sacrifice, it had been, according to the policy of an intelligent Government, in the support of trade and of the Colonies. The State was still nourished by commerce, and the French privateers had just been encouraged, by rewards very fit to excite them, to support the weakness of the Royal navy. There appeared an ordinance, in which, by consent of the High Admiral, the tenth of the prizes taken at sea, which were his profit, was not to be deducted till further orders.

5 March.

The Colonies might still prove very troublesome to England. If Cape Breton had passed under their dominion,

1748.

dominion, Madraſs was in our hands : if Admiral Knowles had ſeized upon Fort Lewis at St. Domingo, the Engliſh were ſtill uncertain of the event of the ſiege of Pondicherri ; which they were, in fact, obliged to raiſe, on account of the fine defence made by M. Dupleix.

17 Oct.

There would have been reaſon, therefore, for diſputing a long time on the ſide of France, if the Count de Saint Severin d'Arragon, who was the repreſentative of that kingdom, had been authorized to do it. But the reſolutions were taken ; and the Engliſh negotiator, who knew the inſtructions of his adverſary, availed himſelf of them. His maſter, without being very deſirous of peace, was in want of it, either to ſecure his throne, and quiet the ferment excited in his dominions by the irruption of the Pretender—or to put an end to the enormous ſubſidies he was obliged to furniſh—or, in a word, to ſatisfy the ſolicitations of Holland, which preſſed him to it, and even of the new Stadtholder, whoſe dignity would have vaniſhed with the Republic. So urgent was the neceſſity of aſſiſting this ally, that the King had been obliged to ſend for defenders from the north, and to keep 30,000 Ruſſians in pay. In a word, though he might flatter himſelf with the hope of obtaining, in proceſs of time, all the French poſſeſſions in America, it was to be apprehended that his Maſteſty's arms might make a more rapid progreſs in Europe.

The Queen of Hungary had her rich provinces in Flanders to recover, which Marſhal Saxe oppreſſed with enormous contributions, and which muſt neceſſarily be more and more laid waſte. It was the fault of this General to be fond of money, and to exert prodigious vexations on the conquered people. The

1748. superb *Promenade*, called the *Cours*, at the city of Brussels, he had caused to be bought three or four times, and, whenever he wanted money, he threatened to cut it up. The Queen could not but lose by the continuation of the war, and she terminated it with glory, after having placed her husband upon the Imperial throne. She gave up only what did not belong to her, and what, in fact, she could not flatter herself with being able to preserve. The Kings of Prussia and Sardinia, who were the only gainers in this contest, were very glad to confirm their new acquisitions by a definitive and general treaty.

Although the King of Spain might be very indifferent with regard to those interests which had influenced Philip V. yet his attention was necessarily taken up in preventing the dismembering of his dominions in the new world, which were threatened by the English navy; and he acquired, without any further effusion of blood, a portion of Italy, as the patrimony of his brother.

The investing of Maestricht, by the finest martial manœuvre that had been contrived for a long time, was the last effort France had to make. This was also one of the actions of Marshal Saxe, who concluded as he had begun. He carried his project into execution with the concurrence of two men, who, perhaps, were each of them singular in their way, M. de Cremilles, Quarter Master General of the army, and M. Paris Duverney, as famous for his art of procuring subsistence, as the first was for his method of ordering his marches. The march, upon this occasion, was so contrived, that the enemy, being equally alarmed for Maestricht, Luxembourg and Breda, divided their forces, and thus facilitated the investing
of

1748.

of the first of these places. But the General, who knew that peace was near, spared the blood of the soldiers, and carried on the siege but slowly. Nevertheless, the Marquis de Bissy, an officer of great hopes, and already distinguished by his exploits, was killed there by a canon-ball.

This last stroke of the investing of Maestricht, hastened the signature of the preliminaries, till the definitive conclusion, which took place in October. By the principal clauses of the treaty, all the conquests on every side were reciprocally restored: the Infant Don Philip acquired the dutchies of Parma, Placentia and Guastalla; the King of Sardinia kept nearly what had been ceded to him by the treaty of Worms; the Duke of Modena was re-established in his dominions; and the Republic of Genoa in theirs: England preserved all the advantages of her commerce with Spain; the treaty of the quadruple alliance was maintained, for the order of succession to the crown of Great Britain; the treaty settled in favour of the Queen of Hungary, by the Pragmatic Sanction, was guaranteed to her, as was also Silesia, and the county of Glatz, to the King of Prussia. In a word, the Grand Duke was acknowledged Emperor by all the Powers.

The French nation found two principal faults with this treaty. The first was a clause which stipulated, that the fortifications of the city of Dunkirk should remain in the same state they were; which announced more than moderation in the King, since it was weakness. The second, was the expulsion of the Pretender, after having called him into France, encouraged him with the most brilliant prospects, and having made him serve as a puppet for our designs,

at

1748. at the risque of his life: this was meanness and perfidy. Accordingly, the Pretender, who was now nothing more to us than the Chevalier de Saint George, not being able to persuade himself, that they would carry their infamy so far as to take him off by force, had not attended to all the hints that had been given to him on this subject, and the Government were obliged to give orders to the Duke de Biron, Colonel of the regiment of French guards, to arrest him. This singular event passed at the opera. The King had previously informed M. de Vaudreuil, a Major in the guards, that he must take this business upon himself: and he apprized him of two circumstances—one, that the Prince always went armed—the other, that he had threatened to kill himself, if they laid hands upon him. The King told him, that he must answer to him with his life, for seizing upon the Prince without any disagreeable accident. M. de Vaudreuil, having obtained *carte blanche* from his Majesty, with regard to the manner of executing the scheme—upon a proviso, nevertheless, of conducting it with all the respectful decency due to the person, and consistent with the circumstances—made all his dispositions. The opera was begun: the entrance into it was then in a *cul-de-sac*: the Pretender came, and, as soon as he was got out of his carriage, all the avenues were closed, and he found himself a prisoner before he suspected it. M. de Vaudreuil announced his orders, and shewed them to him; he then asked his leave to search him. He protested, and even gave his word of honour, that he had no arms. The Major, however, having caused his grenadiers to press him closely, several pistols were found upon him. He was put into a coach, and conducted to Vincennes,

1748.

Vincennes, where there was a supper ordered for him. He saw but one cover laid, desired more, and engaged M. de Vaudreuil and the other officers to sup with him. He lived here three days, in this manner; after which he was conducted to the bridge of Beauvoisin, which made him give up all thoughts of returning into France.

All Paris was incensed at this conduct: it was compared to that of Lewis XIV.; and it is properly at this shameful period that began the general contempt for the Sovereign and his mistress, which continued increasing to the end. The King, indeed, when he laid aside his cuirass, seemed to give up his glory, and even the love of his people, in delivering up the reins of empire to his mistress, whose odious sway was to continue uninterruptedly till the time of her death.

This contempt broke out for the first time in some satirical verses, written upon this outrage committed against Prince Edward; in which, speaking of this illustrious exile, Lewis XV. was addressed in the following words:

A King, tho' captive, what art thou enthron'd *?

After which, the nation was thus addressed:

Thou once proud nation, now so servile grown,
Forso'k'st the Monarch driven from the throne †.

The eagerness of the public in collecting these pieces, in getting them by heart, and communi-

* Il est Roi dans les fers; qu'êtes-vous sur le trône?

† Peuple, jadis si fier, aujourd'hui si servile,
Des Princes malheureux vous n'êtes plus l'asyle!

1748.

cating them to each other, proves that the readers adopted the sentiments of the poet ‡. Madame de Pompadour was not forgotten in them. By a parallel not less humiliating, she was compared to Agnes Sorel, or, under this general name, to the Dutchess of Chateaux-roux; and it was shewn how much she was inferior to her. She ordered the most strict inquiries to be made after the writers, hawkers, and distributors of these pamphlets; and the Bastille was soon filled with prisoners. Some of them were even put on the Mount Saint-Michel, in the famous iron cage. It is a horrid place, where one can neither stand upright nor lie down. Here it was that M. Desforgés was confined, who was accused of being author of the verses we have been speaking of. M. de Broglio, Abbé of Saint-Michel, compassionating his fate, obtained his delivery at the end of several years, and recommended him for Secretary to his brother, the Duke de Broglio; who, when he became Marshal of France, appointed him Commissary of Musters. Among the rest, we may distinguish M. de Mairobert, strictly confined for a long time in the Bastille; and M. de Resseguier, a Knight of Malta. The first had not made any verses, but he distributed them. Some person represented to him, that he would get himself confined: *So much the better*, said he, *it makes a man illustrious*. He has since been appointed Censor Royal, and has enjoyed successively the confidence of M. de Malesherbes, of M. de Sartine, of M. Albert, of M. le Noir, and of M. le Camus de Neville, the several Directors of the Publi-

‡ We shall insert in the Appendix, some of the poems made on this occasion, N° IV.

cations. M. de Resseguier has been reproached with having had the meanness, after having composed some verses against Madame de Pompadour, to make others in her praise.

A Minister, who was a friend of the King's, who might have thought himself unmoveably fixed in his favour, if ever a Courtier could flatter himself with being so; or if birth, long services, attachment to his master, wit, chearfulness, and the gift of pleasing, could preserve from disgrace; soon became himself an object of the favourite's vengeance. Count Maurepas, whom we may easily have known from this description, had already indulged himself in some jests upon the Marchioness, which the King had laughed at. One day, at Marly, she found under her napkin four verses, in which she was ridiculed upon an infirmity common to the sex. The affront was certainly such as no woman could have forgiven. The attack was the more cruel upon her, as it was disclosing to the whole kingdom a secret complaint, which even her lover was unacquainted with. But the crime of these verses could never be brought home to the Count, for they were in fact too bad, and unworthy of him. The suspicion, however, was sufficient, and he received orders to resign his employments. M. Rouillé, who never had known any thing about ports, was appointed to his department; this gave occasion to play upon his name, by saying: *that the conducting of the navy was given to a ROULIER* *. Count d'Argenson had the department of Paris, and that of all the studs in the kingdom:

* A waggoner.

1748.

It is not usual to do justice to a Minister while he is in disgrace; accordingly, people did not fail to pass heavy censures upon the new exile, and to decry his administration. But it is our duty, as being better able to appreciate this matter, to correct this blind, hasty, and passionate opinion of the contemporaries; and we may venture to assert that posterity, more equitable, will consider Count Maurepas as the best Minister in the marine department under Lewis XV. If we consider the weak state in which he found it, at the beginning of the war, and the want of money which he always experienced at this unfortunate period, we shall be surprized at what he effected with such slender means. Foreseeing, long before, a rupture with England, he had taken care to victual the colonies, to get in all the merchantmen, and to put himself out of danger of being injured in any part at the commencement of maritime hostilities. By this precaution, he contrived a resource for himself in trade; for the merchants, being thoroughly satisfied with escaping from the power of a formidable enemy, afterwards readily consented to pay a duty of escort for their convoys; a duty which supplied Count Maurepas with the extraordinary funds he wanted for his department to, which the public treasury refused to contribute. He managed these succours with so much œconomy, that the payment of the workmen, and of the sailors, was never discontinued in the arsenals. He distributed the escorts so well, that the several convoys in every part reached their destination. We have seen that the only colony lost in the course of the war was Cape Breton, and this was by the fault of the officer appointed to relieve it.

it. Besides, we were masters of Madraſs, a compensation more than ſufficient; and the trade of India was not interrupted.

Let us now examine what has happened under the ſucceſſors of this Miniſter? In 1756, when the navy was re-eſtabliſhed, when money was profuſely lavished to ſupport it, yet commerce was ruined almoſt before the commencement of the war. Since that time, we have loſt all our ſhips, and almoſt all our poſſeſſions in America and the Indies. And in the preſent war of 1778, when we congratulate ourſelves upon having a navy no leſs brilliant than that of Lewis XV. and when the expences of it are more enormous than ever, who has not heard the complaints of our mercantile ports, already laid waſte? Our factories on the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabar, are they not already taken? and are not the ports of Indoftan and China ſhut up from us?

The only fault of adminiſtration Count Maurepas can be taxed with, was the want of firmneſs in puniſhing. Had he begun by ſome ſtriking example, at the time of the diſcord ariſen in the Squadron of the Marquis d'Antin;—had he beheaded ſome of the mutineers in that of the Duke d'Anville, for inſtance, that Maiſon-ſort, infinitely more culpable than Admiral Byng, ſince ſhot in England—or that Poulkonque, who being at anchor at the Iſland of Ré, ſuffered himſelf fooliſhly to be boarded by a privateer of the enemy, which had ſlipt under French colours amongſt his convoy, and to be carried off without reſiſtance by a much inferior veſſel;—he would have rendered a material ſervice to the

1748. State, and prevented many faults and misfortunes. But this fatal want of vigour was less owing to him than to his Master and the Government.

Madame de Pompadour, while she was securing and extending her empire during peace, soon felt the weight of a burthen which she had at the same time imposed upon herself. Lewis XV. who had been dissipated by the journeys, by the difference of places, the tumult of the camp, and the motions of the army, fell into a state of languor and depression, from which it was necessary to rouse him by every kind of exertion. The favourite was fond of the arts, she called them to her assistance, and contrived for her royal lover amusements he was before a stranger to.

24 July.

For some time past, the Government had ordered attempts to be made to produce in France, china similar to that of Saxony. These attempts had been successful. The Marchioness determined the King to establish a manufactory of this kind at the Castle of Vincennes, and afterwards to transfer it to Seve, where a vast and magnificent building was erected within reach of Versailles. The two lovers went there often, encouraged the works by their presence, and gave birth to those chef-d'œuvres of a paste more vitrifiable indeed than that of China, but infinitely superior to it, as well as to the European china, in the elegance of the forms, the regularity of the designs, and the liveliness of the colouring. To support this manufacture, which was very dear, and to procure a vent for it, his Majesty caused the produce of it to be brought every year into his palace, where the pieces were displayed, and the Courtiers invited to purchase them.

Lewis

1748.

Lewis XV. always kept up this custom, even after the death of the Marchioness; and the following anecdote is known to every one. The Abbé de Pernon, a young Counsellor of the Parliament, was engaged with the rest in admiring the choicest pieces of this manufactory in the gallery of Versailles, when the King passing by said to him: *Well, l'Abbé, take that, it is beautiful*; and at the same time shewed him what was most magnificent. Sir, replied the Abbé, *I am neither great man enough, nor rich enough.*—*Take it nevertheless*, replied the King, *a good Abbey will pay for all.* Accordingly, his Majesty meeting the Grand Almoner, ordered him to confer the best vacant benefice upon the Abbé de Pernon.

We have observed, that Madame de Pompadour was a very good actress. Plays were frequently performed at the *petits appartemens*, where the most illustrious and gravest persons of the Court cultivated this art to amuse the King. It is to her we owe that theatrical taste, which has generally seized upon the whole kingdom of France; which has prevailed among the Princes, the great, and the tradesmen; which has penetrated even into the convents; and which, infecting manners from infancy, on account of the multitude of pupils that are wanted for so many theatres, has carried corruption to it's height.

The Marchioness put players upon a new footing, and gave them a greater share of consideration: whether it were, that, foreseeing the time when she should no longer excite the desires of her lover, she wished still to direct them, and administer new objects to him; or whether she sought only another mode of divert-

1748. ing him, by the detail of the intrigues, revolutions, and lubricity of this public seraglio; she contrived to have the superintendence of the opera, by ordering the city to take the direction of it. This office was compared to the ediles of Rome, who had the care of the public spectacles in that great city; but there was a wide difference between those Magistrates, and a merchant of the street Saint Honoré, created a Sheriff. Besides, she obtained from Berrier, the Lieutenant of Police, the scandalous chronicle of all Paris; and this immense and licentious capital, afforded every day some anecdote useful to her design.

1749. Madame de Pompadour also inspired the King with the folly of building. We have seen that he was already inclined to this, but was restrained by the fear of expence. She made him get over this consideration, and it was necessary that the Comptrollers General should find no impossibility in gratifying all the Monarch's fancies in this way. A number of expensive baubles were soon raised, less calculated to shew the grandeur than the folly of the proprietor. Beside the several journies to Compiègne and to Fontainebleau, she thus furnished Lewis XV. with hospitable asylums for the tædium, which he dragged along with him from one place to another. She suggested to the King the idea of visiting Havre de Grace, one of the arsenals of the navy. This suggestion might have been a useful one, by making him acquainted with, and inducing him to encourage, this feeble part of administration, which began to be seriously attended to. But this journey was only frivolous, as the person who had proposed it.

29 Sept.

It

1750.

July.

It was the same thing with regard to the camp of Compiègne, where a pretext was taken to shew the King a new corps, called the grenadiers of France. This was an excellent idea of the Minister for the war department, who, in order not to lose the best part of each regiment that was broken, that is to say, the grenadier company, which generally contains the life and spirit of the whole corps, thought of preserving and collecting them under one general denomination. M. de Cremille, who had been Quarter-master-General of the army in 1744 and 1745—who had contributed, in the matters that concerned him, to the success of those two campaigns—and who, being afterwards appointed Inspector of cavalry, infantry, and dragoons, endeavoured to shine by some innovations in tactics—had desired that they should be exercised before his Majesty. Madame de Pompadour saw that this was a party of pleasure for the King and her; and this shew, as well as that of the Havre, served only to amuse his Majesty for the time, without instructing him—to cost a great deal of money, to no purpose—and to display more and more, to the eyes of France, the power, luxury, and prodigality of this woman, for whom the hatred of the nation increased.

This hatred was already very strong. It was imputed to Madame de Pompadour, that the public had not reaped the advantages of peace, by the cessation of the taxes. Under a pretence of lessening speedily the charges of the State, and relieving the people, the King had been induced to give out orders for the reduction of the troops. This reduction was considerable, and the manner in which it was executed did honour to Count d'Argenson, inasmuch as it was not attended with any plundering, or riot,

1 Sept.
1748.

1750. throughout the whole extent of the kingdom. But, as it produced a great number of discontented persons, without employment, without subsistence, and without resources, it did not fulfil its principal object. There was at first some gleam of hope, when a decree of Council appeared, to suppress several petty duties established to defray the expences of the war. This gleam soon disappeared, by the edict which changed the *dixieme*, established in the month of August 1741, into an indefinite *vingtieme*; and when the two sols * per livre † of the *dixieme* were continued, in order to assist in paying off the debts of the State by these revenues, vested in a sinking fund. Then it was that the Cardinal began, for the first time, to be regretted. The execution of this edict was attended with no difficulty, in those countries which are under the jurisdiction of the Assessors of Subsidies: it occasioned nothing but murmuring. It was not the same with the Clergy, and the countries where the States were holden. Those of Languedoc refused to submit to it, and were dissolved: the tax was to be levied by the Intendants.

4 Feb.
1749.

With respect to the Clergy, their resistance was not less strong, nor less obstinate. At any other period, they would have threatened with the thunders of the church, and would perhaps have employed them. But the Comptroller-General Machault, a man of a phlegmatic disposition, of a firm and vigorous mind, was above these old prejudices. He communicated to the King his intrepidity, and was moreover supported by the favourite, who stood in need of him,

* A penny.

† Ten pence.

While the General Assembly of the Clergy was holding, the King's Commissaries demanded of them a sum of 7,500,000 livres * for five years, to be levied at the rate of 1,500,000 livres † each year; which sum was to be employed in reimbursing the debts of this order. The Commissaries announced at the same time to the Assembly, that his Majesty had addressed the same day a declaration to the Parliament, the object of which was, to ascertain the value of the ecclesiastical revenues throughout the kingdom, and to reform the abuses that were committed in the courts of the *dixiemes*.

1750.

1 June.

17 Aug.

This declaration, registered the same day, was not to be delayed in it's execution more than six months. It was contrived in such a manner as to interest the rest of the nation, since his Majesty only desired in it to ascertain the riches of the Clergy, in order that the succours he was obliged to demand from them, in the exigencies of the State, might be proportioned to their ability. He likewise conciliated to himself all the secondary orders of this body, which complained for a long time of being crushed by the inequality of the distributions, of which they were always the victim, and which they wished to have redressed.

The Cardinal de la Rochefoucault presided in this assembly. He had been chosen, as a person free from every kind of fanaticism, moderate, prudent, and a Courtier capable of bending to circumstances. But, whether he were unable to contain the Prelates, or whether he were puffed up, like his brethren, with that professional spirit so prevalent in this body of

* Three hundred and twelve thousand five hundred pounds.

† Sixty two thousand five hundred pounds.

1750.

30 Sept.

men, which drew him along with them, it is certain, that some extravagant remonstrances were settled, and presented to his Majesty. The Assembly complained, in these remonstrances, that the declaration attacked the immunities of the Clergy—spoke of the voluntary donations they were accustomed to make, as subsidies—tended to make the Clergy pay the *vingtieme*—and destroyed the honour of the Ministers of the Church, in supposing them to prevaricate in the repartition of the imposts. Nothing could certainly be more bold, more superstitious, more false, and more insulting to the King and the nation, than these assertions. Philosophy, which made a slow, but certain progress, had taught, that the members of the Clergy were, in the first instance, citizens, and, partaking of their privileges, ought also to bear their share of the charges;—that their immunities, being founded on nothing but the blindness and imbecillity of the Sovereigns and the people, might at any time be contested, because no immunities can hold, against those of reason, society, and humanity;—that, according to the principles even of the church, and of those to whom the benefactions were given, these estates, being those of the poor, they could not have a more equitable destination, in this sense, than in being applied to the relief of the whole State, burthened for the general safety;—in a word, that it was the Clergy which dishonoured itself, by tolerating, in their body, prevarications that were not imaginary, but too real, and too well certified by the remonstrances of the largest, the most sound, and the most useful part of their community.

No regard, therefore, was paid to these remonstrances. The Assembly was ordered to deliberate

1750.

15 Sept.

upon the commands of the King's Commissaries, and, the Clergy not obeying immediately, there came a decree of Council, which appointed the Intendants to make the repartition and levy of these sums in the usual manner, and caused the sittings to be closed on the 20th of September. Unfortunately, M. de Machault did not remain long enough Comptroller General to follow up the execution of his projects; he was succeeded by a weak man. The members of the ecclesiastical body did not observe what was enjoined to them; they persisted in their claims, and chose rather to preserve their pretended immunities by pecuniary sacrifices. But the first step being once made by Administration, is an example proposed to the emulation of the succeeding Ministry; and we shall undoubtedly see some Minister hereafter, actuated by the same genius and by the same courage as this formidable adversary of the Clergy, who will be fortunate enough to attack that body with greater certainty, and more lasting consequences.

M. de Machault had succeeded better in another attempt, suggested by that philosophical spirit which began now to penetrate even into the administration of public affairs. The State felt the inconveniences arising from the number of estates conveyed in mortmain, and the liberty which had been given, of accumulating possessions by those means, without the power of alienating them again; a liberty, tending insensibly to carry the greatest part of the national property into that channel, and highly injurious to the support and preservation of families. It was become absolutely necessary to reform this abuse in the Government; an abuse proceeding from those principles of superstition with which it had originally been infected.

1750. infected. The present age was too enlightened to suffer their temporal wealth to be engrossed by Monks, whose views ought to be confined to that of another world. It became therefore matter of serious consideration to remove the source of this evil, by sap-
ping the foundations of that multitude of monasteries with which France was covered; but their destruction could not, consistently with prudence at least, be effected but by degrees. For the present, the
Ministry contented themselves with issuing an edict, prohibiting the establishment of any new Cathedral, College, Seminary, Religious House, or Hospital, without express permission, and letters patent granted and registered in the Sovereign Courts. The edict likewise annulled all establishments of this nature, existing without legal authority, and ordained that no society whatever should obtain, receive, or possess in future, any estate, house, or revenue, without a judicial sanction, which was not to be granted without a previous inquiry into the propriety or impropriety of the affair.

August
1749.

This law, one of the wisest and most important in the reign of Lewis XV. was received with universal applause. Not a single opponent ventured to appear; even the Clergy, while they shuddered at it, subscribed to it. They foresaw how fatal it would be to them in the end, but they could not withstand the force of that penetrating sagacity, which had dictated the measure. With respect to the other edict, before mentioned, the case was very different. Not being able, on account of their separation, to defend their cause as a body, they had employed a multitude of fanatic and enthusiastical writers. Their enemies had availed themselves of the opportunity of
entering

1751.21 May,
1751.

entering into the controversy, and giving a vent to their malice against the priesthood. The ferment increased; and, in order to check it, a decree of the Council was made some months after, by which thirty-nine pieces, that had been printed in the course of the dispute, clandestinely, and without permission, were suppressed. In the time of the Regency, upon the affair of the Bull, and upon that of the Convulsionists, under the Cardinal's administration, it had been found, that a prohibition to read such publications served only to excite curiosity, and to give them a more extensive circulation; that interfering in contests of this nature was a sure method to increase them; and that persecution, above all things, promoted the growth of fanaticism. They were not long without fresh proofs.

The Clergy are thoroughly acquainted with a resource so necessary to the support of all power that is founded in opinion, and which, subsiding with the fury of the passions, vanishes under the influence of reason, unless a new storm arise to inflame the temper and obscure the judgment of the people. The conjuncture was critical. That philosophy, their irreconcilable enemy, which, hitherto confined to a small number of followers, unconnected, indifferent, phlegmatic, like herself, and cautious, did not venture to combat error but at a distance, under cover and privately, had now burst it's barriers, and was making it's way even to the throne. The light was piercing, it's progress could not but grow more rapid every moment, it's illumination would become universal; and, if the charm were once dissipated, all was at an end. They determined, therefore, to risque the whole for the whole, and, if they were not victorious,

1751.

rious, to hasten their own fall, rather than wait for an inevitable, though slower, destruction. Opportunities were not wanting for a renewal of hostilities. The Archbishop of Paris was looked upon as one of the heads of the Clergy, the most proper to signalize himself.

M. de Vintimille had been succeeded in that see by M. de Bellefonds, a strong Molinist and a furious zealot; but whose premature death had put a stop to the vindictive measures meditated against the Jansenists. Among his private papers were found a number of letters *de cachet* filled with the names of persons who were to be proscribed. The stroke was only suspended. M. de Beaumont, who followed him, possessed the same principles; he was, moreover, in a high degree ignorant, obstinate, susceptible of prejudices, and open to the insinuations of flatterers and informers; in other respects, he was a man of pure and even rigid morals, intrepid in the profession of his faith, and ready to suffer martyrdom for it, if there should be occasion. The first call he had to exert himself, was an affair in which he thought his dignity concerned. The Governors of the General Hospital at Paris, of which he was President in virtue of his place, not being willing to acquiesce in the choice of a person recommended by him to be Superior of the house, he made no scruple of deciding contrary to the majority of votes, and appointed the Lady Moyzan, who has since been so much talked of. This lady, endowed with an understanding, and every quality proper for the government of a community—intriguing, artful, and dissembling—was still young, and possessed a fine person. She had the delicate skin, the seducing eye, and the clear and placid complexion

plexion of a devotee. This was more than sufficient to furnish matter for scandal. The Prelate's only motive had been, the violence of his zeal for the extirpation of Jansenism and propagating of Molinism, which led him to promote only persons of his own party, and such as he thought himself sure of.

The Governors, shocked at this subversion of order, retired from the meeting, and appealed to the Parliament. The Archbishop, on the other hand, had recourse to his own authority, that is to say, the issuing of letters *de cachet*; and it was not till near the end of two years, that a declaration came out from the King, containing a new regulation for the government of the General Hospital. After this, between doubts of the Magistrates, inquiries, attendances on the spot, limitations, &c. the affair continued for several months in agitation. The King required his declaration to be obeyed purely and simply, agreeable to it's form and tenor: this produced several representations, remonstrances, fresh orders from the King, and letters of injunction. At last the Monarch, tired out with such repeated delays, caused the minutes of the Parliament to be brought to him by the First President, cancelled them, took upon himself the judgment of the affairs of the hospital, and concluded by referring them to the Grand Council. This was the cause of the first secession of that Court; which continued only a few days, but was soon followed by several others of more importance.

It is the fate of France to be in a perpetual ferment; whether it be a fault in the Government, or a consequence of national levity and restlessness, as soon as there is an end to foreign troubles, domestic ones arise. The contest about the general hospital was only

1751.

22 July,
1749.23 March,
1751.

24 Nov.

1751.

12 July.

1749.

only the prelude to one of greater moment. As early as the year 1749, informations had been laid before the Parliament of the sacraments being several times refused to persons on their death-bed, because they could not produce certificates of confession from a Priest, whose principles were approved of, or because they had not subscribed the Bull Unigenitus: one instance, in particular, was of the Curate of St. Stephen of the Mount, to M. Coffin, Counsellor at the Chatelet; in 1750, another information was laid of six similar refusals in the capital, and different villages within it's jurisdiction. Hitherto the King had not suffered any steps to be taken upon these informations.

20 March.
1750.

At length the Curate of St. Stephen of the Mount, who was called Friar Bouettin, being a Monk of St. Genevieve, having repeated his offence with regard to the Sieur Coffin, was ordered to attend the Court, but refused to answer, under pretence that he was only responsible to God, and to his Superiors in the Church, for his conduct as an ecclesiastic. A mandate was then issued for taking him into custody, and a deputation of the King's Council was sent to the Archbishop of Paris, to solicit his interposition, that the sacraments might be administered to the sick man. The only answer they could obtain from the Prelate was, that he had found the usage of certificates of confession established in his diocese, and that it was not in his power to depart from it. The usage had been originally introduced as a restraint upon the Protestants, but had afterwards been employed against the Appellants.

This is properly the juncture, at which the contest between the Clergy and Magistracy commenced. The
King,

1751.

King, in imitation of the Regent's policy, encouraging and checking the attempts of each party by turns, persuaded himself, for a long time, that he kept them equally poised; but his hand proved unsteady, the balance was lost, and he himself, borne down alternately by the weight of each party, was forced to give way to the prevailing impulse, and, in spite of himself, to crush both the Jesuits and the Parliaments, leaving the Church and the State equally shaken, and tottering to their very foundations.

The Parliament had passed sentence against F. Bouettin, condemning him in a fine of three livres*, with strict injunctions against a repetition of his crime: they had also sent a deputation to the King; but his Majesty had reserved to himself the cognizance of the matter. The Parliament persevered, passed resolutions, and made powerful remonstrances, in which they displayed the insult offered by the Curate to the majesty of the laws, in refusing to submit to the authority of those who had the administration of them; they complained likewise of the abuse of certificates of confession, and set forth the inconveniences, disorder, and vexations, that were occasioned by them. These remonstrances had not been attended to; and in consequence, the Magistrates had only become more disposed to do themselves justice. An opportunity soon offered—the more favourable, as, in vindicating themselves, they, at the same time, vindicated the memory of a Prince of the blood, to whom, not long before, an insult had been offered. The Duke of Orleans, surnamed *the Devout*, was just dead at Sainte Genevieve; before his death,

* Two shillings and six pence.

1751. he had been desirous of fulfilling the duty of a good Christian, and had sent for the Curate, who was this same Bouettin, of St. Stephen of the Mount. He having been a member of St. Genevieve, and knowing that monastery to be an asylum of Jansenism, suspected the sick man to be infected with it; and, throwing aside all respect for his most serene Highness, as well as for his quality as first Prince of the blood, questioned him, as he would an ordinary penitent. The Duke of Orleans, not chusing to answer his interrogatories, dismissed him, and caused the sacraments to be administered by his own Chaplain. The Parliament would fain have laid hold of this, as a pretence for having recourse to rigorous measures, but the august penitent refused to second their views. The Priest, proud of having thus signaled himself—applauded with extravagance by his party, and made bold by the impunity he enjoyed—only gave a freer scope to his outrageous zeal*; he soon after refused a certain M. le Maire, formerly Chaplain to the late Abbess of Chelles, for it seemed as if every thing that appertained to the house of Orleans, was to lie under the suspicion of Jansenism. Upon this occasion, the affair became more serious: F. Bouettin was ordered to be taken into custody, which obliged him to abscond, and make his escape. Even after the decree of the Parliament had been reversed by one from the Council, he did not dare
1752.
23 March.

* We have now before us a very full and authentic manuscript, taken principally from the Parliamentary Registers themselves, concerning this matter; but it is too large to be inserted in the Appendix. We may, perhaps, give it separately, under the title of *Journal of the Schism between the Clergy and Magistracy, upon the subject of certificates of confession.*

to return; and the King declared, in his answer to the remonstrances of the Parliament upon this affair, that he had taken measures to remove the Curate of St. Stephen of the Mount from a parochial situation, in which he had shewn a conduct more calculated to inflame the minds of men, than to restore peace and concord among them. He added, that it was not his intention to take from his Parliament entirely the cognizance of the matters in question, but to pursue the properest methods of putting a stop to the troubles, and particularly of imposing silence with respect to the disputes, which both parties were desirous of renewing.

The Parliament availed itself of this answer to gain some ground, by issuing the famous decree of the 18th of April, in the form of an ordinance, whereby they prohibited all acts tending to schism, and all refusals of the sacraments, under pretence of default in not producing certificates of confession, declaring the name of the confessor, or acknowledging the Bull *Unigenitus*.

This decree *, copies of which were dispersed about

* As it is short, we here insert the sacramental words of it.
 " The Court, all the Chambers being assembled, deliberating
 " respecting the answer given yesterday by his Majesty to the
 " remonstrances of his Parliament; having hear'd the opinion of
 " the King's Counsel: forbids all ecclesiastics to do any acts
 " tending to schism; namely, to make any public refusal of the
 " sacraments, under pretence of failing to shew a certificate of
 " confession, or to declare the name of the Confessor, or to accept
 " the Bull *Unigenitus*; and enjoins them to conform, in the
 " outward administration of the sacraments, to the canons and
 " rules settled in the kingdom. The Court likewise forbids
 " them to make use, in their sermons, in relation to the Bull
 " *Unigenitus*,

1752.

about with the greatest profusion, gave life to the whole party; it was regarded as the bulwark of the citizens against clerical inquisition; an allegorical print was joined to it, in which the Magistracy, under the emblematical figure of justice, had for its device: *Custos unitatis, schismatis ultrix*. The figure was armed, and represented as trampling on a flambeau near an altar, on which were placed a chalice and a crown. France, prostrate, petitioned against Schism: *pro Fide, Rege, & Patria*.

There was not a Jansenist, that did not buy this religious caricature, and place it at the head of his bed, among those holy pictures, before which all good Catholics pay their daily adorations. The Constitutionalists, more enraged than ever, set their Chiefs at work again; but there was no colour of a pretence to set aside the decree, which was conceived in the very terms of the King's declaration. The utmost they could obtain was a decree of the Council, in the form likewise of an ordinance, upon the same point, and which served as a kind of counterpoise to that of the Parliament; the King requiring, that whatever differences might arise on that subject

“ Unigenitus, of the terms of Innovators, Heretics, Schismatics,
 “ Jansenists, Semi-pelagians, or other party names, upon pain of
 “ being prosecuted as disturbers of the public tranquillity, and
 “ punished according to the rigour of the ordinances. The
 “ Court further orders, that this decree shall be printed, read,
 “ published, and posted up, wherever it shall be necessary; and
 “ that collated copies of it shall be sent to the bailiwicks, and
 “ seneschalsies in the jurisdiction of the Court, to be likewise
 “ read, published, and registered there: enjoining the Deputy of
 “ the King's Attorney-General to attend to this matter, and to
 “ report to the Court concerning it in the course of the month,
 “ &c.”

should

1752.

should be submitted to him, before any cognizance should be taken of them by his Courts. It further enjoined, as former edicts had done, submission and respect to the Bull *Unigenitus*, as to a statute both of the Church and State, and as a general ecclesiastical decision in point of faith. This was in fact determining the question before hand, and opening a door to schism. Accordingly, the fanatics took advantage of it: the refusal of the sacraments grew much more frequent, and extended to the provinces and villages: the Archbishops of Sens and Tours; the Bishops of Amiens, Orleans, Langres, and Troyes, signalized themselves within the district of the Parliament of Paris. The other Parliaments soon after found it necessary to imitate their example and severity. Publications multiplied on all sides; the Preachers fulminated from their pulpits against the Magistrates, who dared to interfere with the sacred function, and, in the blindness of their holy rage, gave way to the most violent and most seditious declamations. It was not possible to connive at such excesses. The secular Judges prosecuted with rigour those Ecclesiastics who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the law; these, in their turn, sheltered themselves under the authority of the Church, exclaiming more strongly than ever against such prosecutions, which they held out as attacks on spiritual matters and the administration of the sacraments. The Archbishop of Paris—having in vain attempted to confirm the faithful of his diocese, and to keep up the zeal of his agents, in this season of trouble and persecution, by an inflammatory letter, which he had been forbidden to publish—had taken another method, which was not more successful: this was, to have a petition pre-

1752.

sent to him, signed by a great number of the Parochial Clergy of Paris, praying to be authorized in the use of certificates of confession; but he had been again cut short by the Parliament, who issued their warrant against the Curate of St. Jean de Greve, the manager of this petition. The Government, on their side, meant to quash the proceedings of the Parliament. The irresolution of the King increased; ever averse to extremities, he stood in need of a supporter, and had not been able to find one, even in M. d'Aguesseau. The amazing knowledge of that great man, led him to examine things under so many different aspects, that he saw evils on every side, and was afraid to determine. It has since been observed, in comparing him with his son, now President of the Council by seniority, more than merit, that the one was all knowledge, without any decision; the other all decision, without any knowledge. It must be allowed that age and misfortunes had enervated the vigour of his mind: he retired, after thirty years service in the first judicial employment, and died about this time, upwards of fourscore years of age. The loss of him was not made up by M. de Lamoignon, a man of so little weight, that it has been said he gave in his resignation before he was appointed, and that he was only made Chancellor on this condition. He was, besides, suspected of being attached to the Jesuits; a circumstance which raised the hopes and the pretensions of the Clergy. Be this as it may, he suggested to the King a conduct, the worst that could be adopted, that of temporising, and endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation. In consequence of this plan, his Majesty established a commission for examining the disputes between the Clergy and the Parliaments.

1752.

Parliaments. It was chosen equally from the two parties, and consisted of the Cardinals of Rochefoucault and Soubise, the Archbishop of Rouen, and the Bishop of Laon, on one side; on the other, Mess. Trudaine, de la Grand-Ville, and d'Aunac, Counsellors of State, with M. Joly de Fleuri, formerly Attorney General of the Parliament, a man celebrated for the extent of his knowledge and information.

It was easy to foresee, from every thing that had passed before, that this arbitration—which was not agreeable to either party—would serve only to increase the disorder and fermentation. In fact, the whole proceedings of the Court were full of inconsistency. If the points in dispute were matters of faith, Counsellors of State were not more competent to decide upon them than Counsellors in Parliament. The King himself, however respectable and paramount his authority may be, being yet no more than a secular power, had no right but that of support and protection; and the Clergy complained, with reason, that the commission was not entirely composed of members from their own body.

In their representations of the 11th of June, 1752*, subscribed by five Archbishops, sixteen Bishops, and two Agents for the general body of the Clergy, they insolently set forth, that “the Episcopal charge is of so much the higher importance, as it is by them that an account of the conduct of Kings themselves is to be rendered at the divine tribunal; for you know, that although your dignity raises you above the general race of mankind, you bow

* These representations were never printed; we shall insert them in the Appendix to this History, N° V.

1752.

“ the neck before the Prelates :—you receive the sacraments from their hands, and you are subjected to them in what respects religion ; you follow their decisions, and they are not bound by your will. But if the Bishops obey your edicts, so far as regards political concerns and temporal interests, knowing that you have received power from above, with what affectionate readiness ought you to submit yourself to them, who are commissioned to dispense the sacraments !”

The Magistrates, on their side, were incessantly repeating to his Majesty, that the law, and those rules of which the Courts of Justice, both by their duty and by their oaths, are the keepers and the guardians, are the only pledges of the preservation of a just Monarchy, and the sole security for the fortunes, lives, and liberties of the subjects ; that, under the present circumstances, it was more important than at any other time, to make known, to those who abused their holy function, so far as to make it a pretence for claiming an immunity from all civil obligations, that they are amenable to the laws of the kingdom, and liable to the penalties annexed to the crime of prevarication ; and finally, that it was only by exercising that power, with which the law had invested him, that he could put a stop to a schism, in favour of which the Archbishop of Paris, and a great number of Bishops, had openly declared themselves, and to prevent consequences the most fatal to the Church, the State, and the Constitution. Thus one party, for the sake of their conscience, persisted in refusing the sacraments, and the other in prosecuting them, for the sake of their oaths. A fresh refusal of the Curate and Vicars of St. Medard, in Paris, to a sister of the community

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munity of St. Agatha, gave birth to fresh processes in the Parliament, which, upon this occasion, involved M. de Beaumont in the cause, and ordained a seizure of his temporalities, as likewise that the Peers should be summoned for the purpose of bringing him to trial. The boldness of this step intimidated the Ministry; the King immediately issued orders to the Peers not to attend. The Parliament, being thus put aside from their main object, started another question; which was, whether orders of this nature did not militate against the privileges of the Peerage, and endanger its existence. The King of course determined that they did not, and in the mean time removed the affair of the refusal from the Parliament to the Council. The sister Perpetue, so the sick person was called, whose stubborn zeal had induced her to devote herself to the public cause, had been taken into custody by order of Count d'Argenson; and it had been determined to demolish the monastery of St. Agatha, a second Port Royal, the present resort of heresy, and constant subject of scandal.

The persecution of the Parliament served only to give greater eclat to the Archbishop of Paris. As soon as the news came to the ears of the Prelates, they assembled, to the number of twenty-two Bishops, Archbishops, and Cardinals, at the house of M. de la Rochefoucault, and sent a deputation to him, to express the part they took in the event, and to offer him their purse. They afterwards repaired to Versailles, but the President only was admitted to an audience of his Majesty; who reported to them, that he had been extremely well received, and that the King had given him the strongest assurances of his protection for the Clergy.

Of

1753.

Of this there were manifest appearances throughout the whole proceedings in this affair, and in several others of the same nature. The Parliaments of Toulouse, Aix, and Rouen, treading in the steps of that of Paris, found the same obstacles. The Magistrates had no sooner given sentence, than the cause was removed to the Council. The interposition of the Court was even carried so far, that letters patent were issued, on the 22d of February, enjoining them to suspend all prosecutions and processes, respecting the refusal of the sacraments, till further order. The letters were not registered: this controul, this humiliation, and the authority of Government constantly exerted against them, inspired the Parliament of Paris with new vigour; they grew so animated, as to address to the King that famous remonstrance of the 9th of April, which he refused to receive, and which concluded thus;

“ If those persons, who abuse your Majesty’s confidence, mean to reduce us to the cruel alternative of shrinking from our duty, or incurring your disgrace, we declare to them, that our zeal has no limits, and that we are not afraid to become victims to our fidelity.”

Here was a direct attack upon the Ministers, and particularly the Chancellor and Count d’Argenson. The latter was the sworn enemy of the Magistrates; and, being of a firm, enterprising, and intrepid character, engaged the King to shew his whole displeasure. He had no doubt that the Parliament would give way, and return to their duty, but it happened quite otherwise. The Parliament came to a resolution, that “ as it was impossible for them to carry truth to the foot of the throne, through the obstacles

5 May.

"cles placed in their way by evil-minded persons; they had no other resource but in their own continual vigilance and activity; and therefore, in order to fulfil that important and indispensable part of their duty, the different Chambers would continue assembled (postponing all other business) till such time as it should please their said Lord the King to receive their remonstrances."

Notwithstanding repeated orders to register the letters patent, the chief object of their opposition; notwithstanding the letters of injunction, those formidable forerunners of the King's wrath, of disgrace and punishment, the Parliament answered, that they could not obey without a breach of their duty and of their oaths.

This answer was followed soon by an order of banishment: the whole Courts of Inquests and Requests, the principal center of the ferment, they being composed of violent young men, eager in the pursuit of fame and honour, were dispersed in different towns within the district. A more severe example was made of four members, who were looked upon as the chief instigators. The Abbé Chauvelin was sent to Mount St. Michael; M. Beze de Lys to Pierre-Encise; the President de Bezigny to the castle of Ham; and the President du Mazy to the islands Saint Margaret. The last was of no great weight in his company, but he was a very indiscreet, mad-headed prattler, who had ventured, in the Assembly of the Chambers, to throw out some very injurious reflections against the Marchioness de Pompadour. She availed herself of this opportunity to revenge her private quarrel.

The Grand Chamber, composed of grave, sedate, pusillanimous persons, more susceptible in general
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1753. of fear and corruption, had been spared; but no sooner were they assembled, than, instead of applying themselves to the ordinary administration of justice, they resumed the pursuit of the same objects, taking informations, and passing sentences. The Court sent them to Pontoise, where, persisting in the resolutions of the whole body, and animated by the same spirit, they continued to employ themselves in receiving complaints of the refusal of the sacraments, in ordering examinations, and issuing warrants; which the Clergy, now triumphant, treated with contempt.

The public began to be tired of this contest. All Paris, excepting the parties interested on one side or the other, had resumed its usual gaiety of temper; every day produced some pasquinade, caricature, or satire. The Council, however, were not of the number of the laughers; they did not know how to act. They took the opportunity of the vacation of the Parliament, when the Grand Chamber ceased its functions of course, and in its room appointed a Chamber of Vacation, composed of Counsellors of State and Masters of Requests. This Court sat at the Grands Augustins, and the whole time of its existence was spent in struggles with the inferior Courts, particularly the Chatelet, which would not acknowledge its jurisdiction. For form's sake, it condemned some criminals, who appealed against its decrees. At last, the Grand Chamber continuing inflexible in its opposition to the views of the Court, was banished to Soissons, and its place supplied by another short-lived tribunal, called *Chambre Royale*. This new modification of the Council (for under this second denomination it was still formed from the same body) was not more successful; it served only to throw more
ridicule

ridicule on the business, and more odium on its supporters.

Nothing now remained, but to set on foot a negotiation for restoring the Parliament. Count d'Argenson being personally disagreeable, and besides a fixed enemy to them, the King communicated his intentions to M. de Machault, but chose to appear alone. The dispersed state of the different Colonies, as the several Chambers were called, being separated and scattered into so many distinct provinces, prolonged the conferences considerably. Every thing, however, was settled, and the Parliament returned, amidst the acclamations of the capital, and on the 5th of September registered the celebrated declaration, which, at the same time that it annulled all proceedings already commenced, imposed an absolute silence with respect to religious disputes, and directed the Parliament to see this duly observed.

2 Sept.

Thus the face of affairs became entirely changed. The Clergy left no means unattempted to prevent the accommodation; but justice and the peace of the kingdom required it. The King sent for the heads of the Church, the Cardinals de la Rochefoucault and Soubise, and the Archbishops of Paris and Narbonne, to Choisy, and said to them, "I forbid you to make any answer to what I am going to say. I will have peace in my kingdom; I have enjoined you silence; if any one transgresses, he shall be punished as the law ordains."

Here closes the first æra of the dispute between the Clergy and the Magistracy. Unfortunately, it was but a momentary truce; the troubles broke out afresh with redoubled violence, as is always the case under a weak Government, which lays too much stress upon trifles,

or

1753.

or dares not lay the axe to the root of an evil, by suffering the laws to take their course.

The Jansenists and Molinists were the more imprudent in renewing their quarrel, when they did, as they were threatened with impending ruin from another quarter, if they did not unite their efforts against the common enemy.

The plan of the *Encyclopédie*, that vast repository of human knowledge, that pillar raised to the arts and sciences—conceived first by two foreigners, Mills and Sellius, and arranged by Mess. Diderot and d'Alembert—was now carrying into execution. Two volumes of it had already appeared, and gave great scandal: but this was the least of the evil. It required no degree of penetration to foresee, that a work of such extent, requiring a great number of assistants, would of course form a point of union for philosophers, who from this time would begin to grow into a sect, and thus make one body. M. de Voltaire, though at a distance from France at this period, was justly considered as the head of this new order. The first strokes had been his, which, if they were not the strongest, were certainly the most brilliant, and, exclusive of the importance of his services, his high reputation, his age, the universality of his talents, his access among Sovereigns, and the weight he had acquired, all contributed to fix this title upon him. The two editors, notwithstanding their opinion of themselves, assumed no higher rank than that of his deputies. The design which these enthusiasts held out to the public was not less praise-worthy than bold: it was that of dissipating prejudices, destroying error, enlightening the human race, and establishing truth. They looked for difficulties and
opposition.

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opposition. The Jesuits were the first to enter the lists. A motive of interest, backed by a stronger motive of vanity, engaged them to this attack. The new dictionary threatened the fate of that of Trévoux. This was a mortification they could not submit to, and therefore instituted a cabal against it's rival. Their adversaries had, in the volumes already published, furnished them with twenty articles liable to criticism, and to the censures both of the Civil and Ecclesiastical powers. The *Encyclopédie* was accordingly suppressed, in pursuance of a resolution of Council, as obnoxious both to the Church and State; and an order was even given to the officers of the police to search the house of M. Diderot; in consequence of which his manuscripts were seized. The Philosophers were not sorry, at the bottom, for this temporary persecution; they knew it was the surest means of promoting every species of fanaticism, and increasing the numbers of the sect. The essential point, and that which was most difficult, had been already accomplished; they had a center of union, a hierarchy established among themselves, marks of distinction, a settled and regular system; in a word, their mutual ties were firm and indissoluble. They laboured without intermission, each of them in that line of society in which he was placed, to propagate their doctrine in all it's forms; a doctrine, represented by their enemies as wicked and abominable, but by themselves as salutary and benign. They even insinuated themselves into the schools of Divinity, the foundations of which they sapped, by combating it even through the mouths of the students themselves.

7 Feb.
1752.

A young Abbé of rank, under the tuition of one
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1753.

of the most subtle metaphysicians of this school, in hopes of making an early figure, was not afraid of becoming the instrument of the modern Philosophy, to explain and extend the system of Deism and Materialism in a public thesis, maintained in the capital of the kingdom, in the presence of the first and most celebrated University in the world. This thesis, written in elegant Latin, abounding in poetical language, and brilliant metaphors, turned with such address and ambiguity as to conceal error under the mask of truth, escaped the censure of three Doctors, and was publicly read at the Sorbonne, before a numerous assembly, and with uncommon ceremony. In it, the Abbé de Prades, the respondent, compared the miracles of Jesus Christ to those of Æsculapius—asserted that fire is the essence of the soul—confounded all the ideas of moral good and evil—and spoke of the inequality of conditions, and the rights resulting from it, as unreasonable and absurd. Such at least were the principal positions which were afterwards made the objects of censure. The Philosophers incautiously boasting of this triumph, an inquiry was instituted, two months after, both into the work and the conduct of the censors; who acknowledged their error, and pleaded in excuse, that the smallness of the characters, in which the thesis, being artfully spun out to a great length, had been printed, had fatigued their eyes and dissipated their attention*. An information was laid before the Parliament: the Theolo-

* The censure notifies: *Conscivit hoc grande nefas per thesin die 18 Novembris anni proxime elapsi in Sorbonna propugnatam: thesim artificiosa prolixitate, literarum subtilium tenuitate digestam, quæ legentium attentionem fatigando distraberet, &c.*

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logical Body passed sentence on the thesis; the Archbishop of Paris, and the Bishop of Montauban, as Diocésans of the Abbé de Prades, prohibited the publication of it by a mandate. Finally, a warrant was issued for taking the Abbé into custody, at the requisition of the Attorney General, and he was forced to make his escape with the Abbé Yvon, his tutor. They took refuge in the Prussian court. De Prades had afterwards the weakness to retract; he suffered himself to be guilty of ingratitude to his Royal Benefactor; and his career, which began with éclat, was closed by an unfortunate end. Yvon returned to France after a long absence, and is now one of the pensioners of M. de Beaumont, one of the most zealous agents for the Clergy.

Notwithstanding these censures, mandates, and decrees, religion received a violent shock from this young man's boldness. As to the Philosophers, so far were they from considering his ill success, and his flight, as any check to their progress, that they made it the subject of their raillery; and their chief priest wrote a pamphlet, intitled, *Le tombeau de la Sorbonne*, in which he threw upon the Professors and the Parliament, a ridicule they could never get rid of. Such were the grievances under which the Church laboured.

Before we return to give the sequel of the schism, we shall take a view of the other important events of the reign during this period. And first we shall inquire into the state of the Ministry, and what changes it had undergone. The creatures of the Marchioness de Pompadour were insensibly getting possession of all the great offices; and those persons who were yet employed, and were not of the number of her

1753.

dependents, were obliged to conduct themselves towards her with great circumspection. The Count d'Argenson was one of these: suspected, not without reason, by the favourite, and accused of having had a design to place his own mistress, the Marchioness d'Estrades, with the King in her stead, he was obliged to conceal his manœuvres. Happily, his great talents made him necessary, as his facility made him agreeable to the King. Add to this, that his Majesty respected in him the last choice of Cardinal Fleuri, who, looking upon him as one of the ablest men in the kingdom, had called him up to the Council before he had appointed him Secretary of State*. Though voluptuous, and even debauched, his pleasures never interfered with his business. He never went to bed without having settled the business of the day. As he had the respect of the troops, he sought likewise to gain their affections. He had the highest veneration for that superb monument of Louis XIV. the asylum of superannuated, maimed, or infirm soldiers; and, poverty being sometimes the portion of the highest birth, and even of the superior ranks of the army, he added to the Invalids a building for the reception of General Officers, who might choose to retire there. To this edifice he endeavoured to give more elegance and dignity, by majestic walks, and a lively imitation of the Elysian fields, where one might see the living shades of warriors, who had suffered a sort of anticipated death in the service and defence of their country. He frequently gave audience in this place, and fancied, that the more ve-

* He was made Minister 25 August, 1742, but had not the War-department till 1 January 1743.

nerable it became, the more dignity it would reflect 1753.
on his administration.

Nor was this the only establishment of his which did him honour. By a strange singularity, interwoven in the national constitution, and handed down with our most ancient customs, a soldier of fortune, grown grey in the service, and covered with glory and with wounds, was forced to return into the mass of common people, from which he sprang, while the respect which the corruption of later ages, and the necessities of the State, had inspired for riches, procured to tax-gatherers, battenning on the blood of the people, a venal Nobility, by purchasing the office of Secretary to the King. Formerly, the Nobility only, in France, were admitted into the profession of arms; and if, by some irresistible impulse, a vassal dedicated himself to that employment, he soon deserved to be received into their order by actions of valour and eclat. This was the object of an emulation which was calculated to work miracles, and, perhaps, under this point of view, Count d'Argenson, in removing an apparent injustice, weakened the foundations of military virtue: men are seldom tempted to use uncommon efforts in pursuit of a reward which they are sure to obtain in the course of time. Be this at it may, the edict which the King issued by his advice, was much applauded, as meriting the gratitude of posterity and immortalizing the memory of his reign. By this law, his Majesty founded and established a military Nobility, acquired of right, not only by those who should rise to the rank of General Officers in his army, but also by those who should serve in any rank not inferior to that of Captain, and whose father and grand-

1 Nov.
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father have served in the same capacity, *patre & avo militibus.*

22 Jan.
1751.

Shortly after, there appeared another edict, the sequel of the former, and which, if it had been discussed philosophically, would perhaps have been found to have a greater share of brilliancy than of solidity. It was designed to establish a military school, for boarding, lodging, and educating, gratis, in the art of war, five hundred French Gentlemen, especially such whose fathers, having no fortunes, had either died in the service of his Majesty, or were still employed in his armies. This was an imitation of the establishment of *St. Cyr*, but the plan was more extensive, and seemed calculated for a more useful purpose. The discussion of this point would lead us too far at present—we shall only observe, that all the successors of M. d'Argenson have not thought as he did, and that, in general, the monuments of ostentation in a State ought to be proportioned to it's income, and to the present situation of it's finances. This plan, dazzling at first sight, did not do less honour than the preceding one to the Minister for the War department, and gained him the affection of the Nobility. He was extolled by the Clergy, whose interests he favoured, not so much from attachment to them, as from his antipathy to the Law. Agreeable to the principles of his father, he was an enemy to the forms, the slow methodic proceedings of the Magistrates; he strongly favoured despotism, and encouraged the King in it as much as he could. Above all, he was exasperated at not having had the Seals given him at the death of the Chancellor. In vain, by way of administering some consolation to him, had the sur-

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vorship of his employment been granted to the Marquis de Paulmy, with the functions of it, and the signature, in conjunction with his uncle; he saw them with regret intrusted to a rival, whom he feared, and who, endeavouring constantly to procure his overthrow, could not succeed at last without involving himself in one common disgrace.

The Count de St. Florentin, already the oldest Secretary of State, and the seventh of the name who had enjoyed the same post, had escaped the disgrace of his cousin, the Count de Maurepas. He had not yet got the department of the letters *de cachet*, which has since rendered him so odious. He was at the head of the Clergy, and that body liked him better than any other person. They managed him more easily, as he was a man of confined talents, of a mild disposition, not of an enterprising turn, timid, and inclined to superstition, which, as it frequently happens, readily coincides with licentious manners. As for the rest, he was exact, assiduous, zealous for the service of his master, and entertained a proper respect and submission to the favourite. He already began to be governed by Madame Sabbatin, a female adventurer, by whose charms he had been seduced. She had subdued him to such a degree, that she ruled over all his senses; he followed every impulse he received from her, and only acted according to her directions. This intriguing woman, not being able to aspire to the supreme authority, it was at least her interest to have a secondary sway, and, consequently, to inspire her lover with an absolute subjection to the Marchioness. Madame de Pompadour, from motives of gratitude, concealed from the King the shameful traffic which this greedy woman made of

1753. the favours and rewards, and even of the rigours and chastisements, which the Count de St. Florentin had to dispense. Certain of securing to herself, by him, one more vote in Council, she had him promoted to the Ministry in 1751, that is to say, after he had served in his office eight-and-twenty years. He had had the mortification of seeing M. de Machault, who had only been Comptroller General three years, put over his head.

This M. de Machault was Madame de Pompadour's first creature. Created Comptroller General in 1745, he had obtained the Seals in 1750, at the time of the dismissal of the Chancellor d'Aguesseau. M. de Lamoignon, thinking himself too fortunate to succeed to the Chancellorship, had been mean enough to suffer this dignity to be dismembered, to enjoy some vain honours, and be no more than a shadow, an object of the contempt and hatred of the Magistracy; while his competitor, more crafty, had obtained their confidence, and received their homages. We have before mentioned the boldness of his enterprise against the Clergy; who, in order to get rid of this cruel adversary, at the time of the patched-up reconciliation in 1754, which M. de Machault had negotiated, obtained, that he should be removed from the office of Comptroller General to the marine department.

M. de Rouillé was then at the head of this department, who was also indebted for his elevation to the Marchioness. The choice of such a man for that office, had at first been much censured. However, as at that time it only required a director who was economical, vigilant, capable of vivifying the Administration, and inspiring it with the

greatest

1754.

greatest activity; and that M. de Rouillé had had the good sense to confide in M. de Mezy, Intendant at Rochefort—the most proper man to direct and support him in the kind of operation he had to execute—he conducted his department very well, during the few years that he remained there, and carried on the business with so much vigour, that the navy was almost reinstated when he quitted it.

He had especially taken care to form sailors, by trade, by fisheries, by the India Company, and by voyages in the northern seas; in a word, by the best-calculated, speediest, and most numerous methods of re-establishing that class of men, almost extinct. This was the more essential, as it was foreseen, that the peace would not be of long duration, and that every moment of this respite ought incessantly to be employed, to enable us to weather the storm that was preparing.

Following the steps of his predecessor, he felt the necessity of instructing the two branches of the navy, which were almost equally ignorant. M. de Maurepas had improved the studies of the sailors in their schools, and brought up some young men in the civil branch, from whence were to be taken the Commissaries and Intendants, after having gone through the several steps of their department. M. de Rouillé did more; he established a center of communication for every kind of knowledge in this profession, by creating his Naval Academy. It was at first a matter of ridicule, to see such an establishment, which is commonly reserved for men of the most distinguished literature, formed among officers, most of whom scarce knew how to sign their names; but it was the means of unit-

1754.

ing the several members, and even the subalterns of this vast corps, which had hitherto been very discordant. It was a place of emulation, in which were one day to be formed, Generals, Administrators, Port Officers, and Ship-builders; in a word, all persons who have any duties to fulfil in the arsenals of the navy.

The business of ship-building especially had been very much neglected. This art was yet only practised by a kind of habit, very exact, no doubt, since the English could not help admiring the fine make of the *Invincible*, taken in the war before, and, being afterwards obliged to demolish her, endeavoured to rebuild her upon the same timbers*. This superb ship was constructed by Morineau, a ship-builder of Rochefort, or rather a master carpenter, who had never studied this branch of business. The persons concerned in the other departments of the navy were not better grounded, nor skilled in the principles of their art. It was M. de Rouillé, who, by incorporating with his Academy several members of the Academy of Sciences, encouraged the learned to apply to the study of the navy, and turn their speculations towards it. He appointed one of them, M. du Hamel du Monceau, who had gained his confidence, Inspector General of the marine; and it was to him, that persons intending to follow that profession, were henceforward to address themselves, whether in ship-build-

* In French, *Gabarits*. These are models made by the Carpenters, with very thin pieces of wood, to represent the breadth, length, and diameter, of the several parts of the ships, when they want to build one, and put her on the stocks.

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1754.

ing, engineering, the drawing of charts, or in the works and business of the harbour. There were regular apprenticeships to be served, competitions were encouraged, and examinations were to be gone through; and these several departments are at present provided with very able men in their respective occupations.

M. de Rouillé had not time enough allowed him to complete the several projects, which he had undertaken, for the improvement of his department, in which he delighted, and to which he applied himself with the greatest success. He was removed to the department for foreign affairs, with which he had never been conversant, and at a time, unfortunately, when that department required a most subtle and refined politician. It had been successively filled by two persons who had suffered themselves to be strangely misled by the superior genius of the English Ministry. One of them was the Marquis de Puyfieux, who had succeeded Count d'Argenson. This man, of exceeding moderate abilities, had certainly not improved them in his embassy to the King of the Two Sicilies, to whom he had been sent in 1735. In the year 1746, he had made a very indifferent figure at Breda, in quality of Minister Plenipotentiary, in comparison with the Ministers of England and Holland; and the peace concluded since his promotion to the office of Secretary of State for foreign affairs, had more fully exposed his weakness, and insignificance. It was in his time, that M. Grofs, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Czarina, left Paris to return to Peterbourg, without having taken leave of the Court, except by a letter to that Secretary of State, who had

1754. had opened himself too indiscreetly upon the favourable dispositions of France for Sweden, against Russia; and his want of energy or address, on this important occasion, produced a coolness between the two Courts, which lasted several years. He had a little, methodical, and trifling turn of mind.

An infirm state of health, which too frequently has an influence upon the character and genius of a man, obliged him to give in his resignation in 1751. He was succeeded by the Marquis de Saint Contest, who ought to have formed himself in his embassy to Holland, from whence he was just returned, but who was not less a novice in business, and only maintained his post by his external qualifications: he filled it till the time of his death, which, fortunately for him, happened at the end of three years. He was succeeded by M. Rouillé.

28 July.

In these revolutions, M. de Sechelles, Commissary in the department of Lisle, and one of the greatest army Intendants that has ever appeared, was made Comptroller General of finances, in which post the public, prejudiced in favour of his talents, probity, and humanity, beheld him with satisfaction.

There was also in the Council, Count Saint Severin-d'Arragon, a foreign Nobleman, who came first into France, in 1726, in quality of Envoy Extraordinary from the Grand-Duke; he afterwards was attached to the King's service, and appointed Ambassador to Sweden. This was the Minister who had negotiated the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the circumstance which ought to have expelled him from the deliberations of the State; but which, on the contrary, was the occasion of his being admitted there. He was a very proud man, whose appearance

1754.

ance commanded respect, and who concealed, under a great deal of parade, his real insignificance; as for the rest, he was supple, and mean, when necessary to maintain himself in favour, and bowed, as the other Ministers, to the idol of the day.

Such were the persons who governed the kingdom under the Marchioness of Pompadour. She would have been very desirous to have thrust in among them the Marquis de Vandieres, her brother, called since the Marquis de Marigny, to avoid the ridicule cast upon his preceding name; but she perceived, as his understanding was not of a superior cast—as he had never entered upon that career—and as he could not compensate for these deficiencies by any advantages of birth, or of apparent or real services, that it was more judicious to keep him where he was. The death of M. le Normant de Tournhem, put him in the entire possession of the place of Director and Disposer General of the buildings, gardens, arts, and manufactures of the King. This was in it's kind a real Ministerial department; for, in that quality, this Minister worked immediately with his Majesty—he had the disposal of the revenues of his post—he granted favours and pensions—he had offices, and distributed places. In the beginning of his good fortune, this young man, who was just come from college, having still the bashfulness of his age, blushed at an elevation for which he was conscious he was not born: he modestly acknowledged his embarrassment, in the gallery of Versailles, where he could scarcely appear without being surrounded by a number of Noblemen. “No sooner do I let
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1754.

"my handkerchief fall," said he, with a great deal of simplicity, "than several blue ribands are immediately stooping to dispute the honour of picking it up!" He was soon admitted to the *petits soupers*; the King used to call him *little brother*. One day, when his sister expected to dine *tête-à-tête* with him, the King came in unawares, and being informed who was the guest she wanted to send away, cried out: *No! your brother is one of the house; instead of taking away the plate that was intended for him, you need only add one more; we will dine all three together.* How was it possible that his head should not turn!

However this may be, he was at first possessed with the noble emulation of distinguishing himself in his department, and of rendering it illustrious. He availed himself of the free access which favour procured him, and of his sister's taste for the arts. He put the two Academies upon a respectable footing, and, under the King, was their protector. That of architecture, which dated its existence from 1671, which for several years past had assembled even at the Louvre, but which had not hitherto been settled by authority, though it had obtained letters-patent, which confirmed and established it in 1717, was in great want of encouragement. His sister contributed to its advancement, by inspiring the King with a taste for building. M. de Marigny gave out prizes to excite emulation between the young people, and those who obtained them were sent to Rome at his Majesty's expence, to view the monuments of antiquity, and to study them. He conceived the vast project of finishing the Louvre,

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1754.

that superb edifice, which at once attests the grandeur of our Sovereigns, the badness of their taste in not residing there, or their inability to finish it. It is not to be imagined to how great a degree of perfection architecture was carried under the influence of this new Mæcenas. The circumstance which distinguishes our artists in this way—and which has not been attended to, either in Egypt, or Greece, or Rome, or Tuscany under the Medicis, or France under Lewis XIV, although it be more essential than the caryatides and the colonades—is the interior distribution of the apartments. Till our days, we had seen nothing but long galleries and immense saloons. It is incredible to what a degree of perfection the invention of the conveniences in apartments has arrived since the year 1722, when, for the first time, this fortunate idea was suggested at the palace of Bourbon. We have already observed with how much astonishment the efforts of this art, in favour of the first mistress of Lewis XV. were admired at Choisy: it was then only in it's infancy. The art of embellishments, ornaments, and furniture, which is also connected with the study of architecture, has been in some measure created under the Marquis de Marigny, whom Petronius would have called *Elegantiarum arbiter*. What an amazing progress has not luxury made in these articles! Cote, who died in the year 1735, was the first man who placed glasses over chimney-pieces. In our days, the meanest tradesman despises a lodging which is not decorated with them. Chimnies have since been invented that turn upon a pivot, and can warm two rooms at once. Others have been constructed
 whose

1754.

whose shafts are inclined, and the glass over which, not being quick-silvered, leaves a prospect open into the street, or country. The ingenious contrivances of our architects have been carried so far, as to invent those tubes for the purpose of conveying heat, which, without any visible means, diffuse a gentle warmth throughout the room; and might persuade strangers, unacquainted with the secret, that the temperature of the air was altered.

The Academy of painting and sculpture has no less obligations to the Marquis de Marigny, and has improved in certain particulars under him. If men of genius in these arts have perhaps become more scarce than they were, the artists in general have been more numerous, and better encouraged. The prizes given, and the scholars maintained in Italy, to form their taste upon the great models, must necessarily perpetuate the idea of the beautiful, even in those persons, who, in compliance to fashion, and the frivolous taste of the age, are obliged to give themselves up to studies of a degenerate nature.

In 1740, was introduced the custom of exposing every year to the view, the eulogium, or the criticism of the public, all the works of painting, sculpture, and engraving, composed by the members of the Academy. M. de Marigny encouraged this exhibition: but, in order to make it more perfect, and more considerable, he ordered, that it should only take place every other year. To excite the emulation of the artists who had not travelled, and give them good models to copy from, he laid open to the public that superb gallery of Rubens which decorates the palace of Luxembourg: he induced the King to give orders that his immense collection

1754

of pictures should be successively exposed to view in the same place. It was there that, in 1751, that picture of Andrea del Sarto, worn out with age, was renewed by the industry of M. Piest, inventor of the secret of transposing the painting, without damaging it, from one canvas to another, and thus perpetuating it's existence. He attempted since, the same operation upon the Saint Michael, painted upon wood by Raphael, and completed the business so happily, that he excited general admiration, and that the King and all the Court were delighted with it.

Loriot invented the art of fixing crayons, and making them as durable as paintings in oil. Among the *chef d'œuvres* of the most famous painters, a portrait in needlework, by the *Gobelin* manufacture, was exhibited in the saloon: the delicacy of the work, and the perfection of the colouring, deceived the eye, and it was taken for a real picture.

The art of applying enamel upon gold, of which the French are supposed to be the inventors, was particularly improved in these latter times; it was carried to such perfection, that historical pictures were made in this way. There was a *Hercules spinning at the feet of Omphale*, by Durand, mentioned in the *Encyclopédie*, as a performance, which would have done honour to the greatest masters.

The *Savonnerie* *, in some respects the competitor of the *Gobelins*, brought forth prodigies, in point

* This was a place where the soap was made and manufactured, at Chaillot: it has been since converted into a manufacture of tapestry.

1754.

of those superb carpets, which are trodden under foot by the effeminacy of our modern *Luculli*.

While the brother of the favourite, under the auspices of this French Minerva, was thus reviving the arts, and the Royal manufactures, in his department, another revolution, not less rapid, was carrying on, in the other parts of this species of administration.

During the preceding war, we had discovered the mischief of seeking among foreigners, and even among our enemies, those adventurous speculators, who, for a profit proportioned to the risks, more or less great, insure to proprietors their fortune, exposed to the inconstancy of the elements, and to the hazards of war. At all events, therefore, a part of the riches of the kingdom must go out of it by this means, and impoverish it insensibly: to prevent hereafter this political evil, and this fatal drain, several rich merchants formed an association, under the auspices of Government, in order to establish at Paris a Chamber of Insurance, the first capital of which amounted to twelve millions †.

4 Feb.
1750.

Great roads are an essential method to preserve the communication of commerce. This object had already begun to be attended to under Lewis XIV.; but the art of making roads was then only in its infancy. It had received some improvements since the beginning of the reign of Lewis XV. and, under the direction of M. de Trudaine, Intendant of finances, had been carried to an astonishing degree of perfection. He settled the office for the bridges

† Five hundred thousand pounds.

and

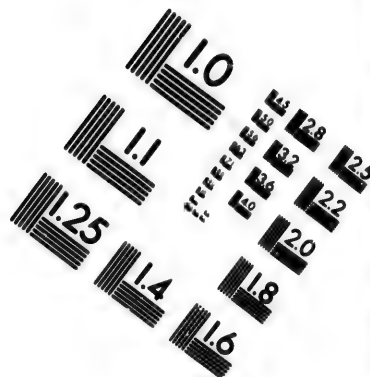
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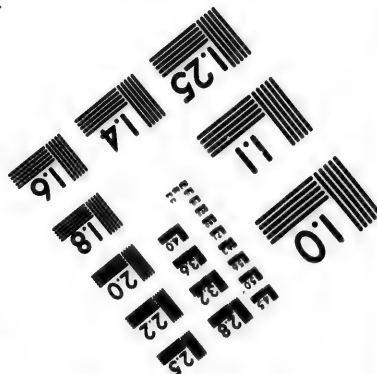
and causeways upon the best footing. He placed at the head of them, an Engineer-Architect in chief, four Inspectors-General, one Director, some Geographers, and five-and-twenty Engineers. Soon after this, he favoured the establishment of a school, from whence the young people, wishing to devote themselves to this branch, were to be drawn. Convenience, utility, and elegance, were equally attended to. Those regular and majestic plantations which border and shade our public roads, will one day prove a resource against the effects of that luxury which cuts down our most extensive forests. The only circumstance this magnificent Minister can be reproached with, is the having made the roads too spacious, incroaching thus upon lands, valuable for agriculture, which would have been better employed in sowing and reaping. There would also be other abuses to reform; such as those cruel vassalages, with which an Intendant oppresses the cultivators of the soil, and those roads, of meer ostentation, to form which, a man of influence, a great Nobleman, or a Minister, makes his vassals assist, for his own convenience, or to shorten his voyage by a quarter of a league, and which have no other advantage but to spare some fatigue to the horses, and some wearisomeness to the master. At the period we are now speaking of, a road of this kind was opened for Lewis XV. the meer title of which excites our indignation. The anecdote deserves to be recorded.

In the month of May 1750, the police was employed in carrying off some persons by force, as is usually done from time to time in Paris—which, being the receptacle of all the worst people in the





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1750.

kingdom, must necessarily be purged now and then from this rabble, which otherwise increasing, and leaguering themselves together, could no longer be kept under. It is difficult, in the secret and clandestine manner in which those acts of violence are carried into execution by underlings of the police, themselves the refuse and the scum of the citizens, that they should not be unjust, oppressive, and sometimes tyrannical. This is the peculiar character of all those operations over which the law does not immediately preside, and which are not executed under the orders of justice. An officer of police, thirsting after profit, and in hopes of impunity, carried off a child: he flattered himself, that he should obtain from the mother a ransom to return the infant to her. It is well known to what a height maternal love is exalted with the sex. Among the mildest animals, the females, in such instances, are no longer the same, but become wild and furious. The woman in question, restrained by no degree of fear, raised the whole neighbourhood with her cries, and was joined by other mothers, seized with similar alarms. Soon after, it was not only one or two, or even a few children that were carried off; it was thousands. Sinister reports were shortly spread about; it was said, that Lewis XV. a second Herod, was going to renew the massacre of the innocents; that an illustrious patient, to save himself from death, was, by order of his physician, to bathe in human blood, and of the purest kind. Such an idea was fully sufficient to work up this rage to the utmost pitch of violence; a rage which in itself was certainly very respectable, inasmuch as it arose from the most beautiful

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1750.

beautiful and most essential sentiment of nature. The tumult began among the women in the suburb of Saint Anthony; and, soon spreading from one neighbourhood to another, communicated itself to the men, and reached the capital. Any man, who had the appearance of an officer of police, was in danger of his life. One of them was massacred, and an unfortunate man, who resembled another, had a great deal of trouble to escape. The Lieutenant of police at that time was M. Berryer. The favourite chose to have a person in that post entirely devoted to her; this man was absolutely so; which circumstance, from the beginning, had rendered him odious to the public. Besides, he was insolent, hard, and brutal. The populace advanced to his hotel in a tumultuous manner, with the most gross invectives, and broke his windows. Being as cowardly as he was brutal, he lost his judgment, and ran away through his gardens, to avoid the infamous treatment with which he was threatened, and of which he already thought himself the victim. Some of his people, on the contrary, more intrepid, caused the doors to be set open, and by this bold stroke intimidated the rabble; they imagined, that it was a trap laid for those who should penetrate into the house: they all conceived, that they saw a gulph in which they were to be swallowed up, and remained motionless. In the mean time, the French and Swiss guards were marching, as well as the two companies of *Mousquetaires*, and the several corps of the King's household troops. This was quite sufficient to contain this undisciplined herd, among which there were more women than men, more idle spectators than combatants. In a few hours,

May,
1747.

1754.

every thing was quiet. The first that were taken, were immediately hanged up, without examining whether they were concerned in the riot or not, for the sake of example ; and in order to give, at the same time, some apparent satisfaction to the people, the Parliament summoned the Lieutenant of Police, reprimanded him, and enjoined him to be more circumspect in his post ; an humiliation for which the Court soon made him amends, by appointing him Counsellor of State. Madame de Pompadour became still more attached to him, and loaded him afterwards with honours and fortune.

20 Oct.
1750.

To prevent, for the future, such assemblies, which had alarmed the Court, the King issued a declaration, which, seeming to lay all the blame upon the beggars and vagabonds, who swarm from the provinces to Paris, ordered, under several penalties, that every individual should be obliged to follow some employment, or to retire to the place of his nativity. By this order, a legal form was at least given to the impressing of people, which was continued under that pretence. Despotism also took advantage of this circumstance, to extend itself, and acquire new strength. The guard of the town was at that time a citizen's guard, pacific, and under the direction of the magistracy. Destined only for the security of the inhabitants, and not to oppress them, they were taxed with not having done their duty during the insurrection of the populace ; though, in fact, it did not belong to them to arm themselves against their fellow-citizens, and to fire upon them. The Minister of Paris, who detested the Parliament, ventured to remove that corps from under their authority, in order to take it to himself, and place it under his

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1754.

own controul. M. de Roquemont at that time commanded the *guet* *, for that is the name given to his company. He was ambitious, eager of acquiring military honours, and ashamed at not being able to obtain the cross of St. Louis, which M. Duval, his father-in-law and his predecessor, had gained, though indeed for a detestable action, since it was an assassination†. It was he who proposed to Count d'Argenson, to introduce order and discipline in his company, which had never been thought of before, and to put it upon a military footing; a uniform was given to them from that Minister, who readily adopted his ideas; he taught them their exercise, and soon converted this collection of mechanics and workmen, who formerly appeared in all sorts of colours, into a regular corps, well disciplined, respectable, and capable of keeping the people in awe. In a word, this guard was augmented by a patrol on horseback, in the day-time, which, passing continually through the city, putting themselves in motion on the least disturbance, and preventing the gathering of crowds, insured thus at once both the tranquillity and slavery of the citizens. The post of Commandant of the watch is become so considerable, that we have seen in our days a General Officer solicit the appointment.

M. d'Argenson, besides, contrived to construct, in the environs of Paris, barracks for the French and

* The Watch.

† The received anecdote is, that M. Duval had been commissioned by the Regent to murder M. de la Grange-Chancel, the author of the *Philippics*, and that he killed, with a pistol-shot, in the street called *Bout-du-monde*, the poet Vergier, Commissary of the navy. His intention, notwithstanding this mistake, was nevertheless rewarded.

1754.

Swiss guards, to be able the more readily to assemble the troops in case of need, and in order that those buildings might be so many citadels to flank the town, and keep the inhabitants in order.

Some months after the riot, the voyage to Compiègne took place. It was customary for his Majesty to pass through Paris to go there. It was represented to him, that it was not proper he should honour with his presence a rebellious city; a road from Versailles to St. Dennis was therefore constructed in haste, and it was called *The road of revolt*, to perpetuate the remembrance of an imaginary crime, and of the shameful weakness of the Monarch. This was the fatal period, when the ties of affection between the Sovereign and the subjects began to be loosened. Lewis XV. came no more to Paris, but in all the parade of severity and anger, and the people no more bestowed upon him those blessings, so flattering to the ears and the heart of good Kings.

While the arts, manufactures, commerce, and the municipal administration, were receiving improvements, from the still feeble and weakened lights of philosophy, jurisprudence was, in some respects, emerging also from barbarism and prejudices. Among other fortunate and necessary changes, d'Aguesseau had terminated his career by that fine decree of entail issued by the King at the *Commanderie* of Vieux-Jonc, as if to teach France and other nations, that, notwithstanding the embarrassments of the war, he did not lose sight of his attention to the legislation.

But the most important monument, the most proper to do honour to the Minister who was then at the head of the finances, and to the Council, was the decree which ordered, that in future the transportation

of

1747.

17 Sept.
1754.

1754.

of corn should be intirely free in the interior part of the kingdom, from one province to another, without any necessity for a passport or permit, and which granted to the provinces of Languedoc and Auch the indefinite liberty of trading with foreigners in this article. This freedom of the transportation of corn, had been wished for a long time in France; it encourages agriculture, the first source of riches in a state, and which produces the wealth of England. It had been indirectly the cause of her superiority over us in the last war, and, in the opinion of some politicians †, of the disgraceful peace we had been forced to accept. Some patriotic writers had already begun to shew the absurdity and injustice of this prohibition, but truth must be a long while exposed to view, in matters of politics, before it convinces: Fortunately, one of them, attached to the Marchioness of Pompadour, in quality of her physician, obtained more influence, and was sufficiently zealous in the cause to inculcate with success, at Court, the principles of the œconomic-philosophers; who, since that time, collected themselves into a body, and unanimously chose this physician for their worthy President. We shall have occasion hereafter to speak in a more ample manner of Doctor Quesnay, for this was the physician's name, who, by his suggestions, became the saviour of the whole kingdom. The prudence of the legislator prevented the giving immediately to this law all the extent it was susceptible of; it was more consistent with his wisdom, previously to consider the first effects of it, and these could only be known from experience.

† See the work intituled, *The Interests of France ill understood.*

1754.

The science of physic received also great improvements, and assumed a new face: in the medical schools, knowledge was substituted to pedantry, experience to habit, discovery to prejudices, gracefulness and amenity to ridicule and barbarism; remedies were prescribed in less profusion, and nature was left more at liberty to act for herself; the custom of bleeding was particularly restrained; general and enlarged notions were propagated respecting the means of preserving the inhabitants from those two destructive scourges of mankind, the small-pox and the venereal disease; of guarding against the sting of the viper, or recalling drowned people to life. In 1752 there was an instance of what an active and enlightened zeal could produce, a miraculous effort of industry and humanity, the memory of which ought to be preserved. On the 10th of July the quarry of Antoni fell in: two workmen were buried in it at the depth of one hundred and fifty feet. The Intendant gave orders, that every exertion should be made to relieve them; and a great number of workmen were employed for this purpose, whose labours were interrupted by thunder striking upon the spot where they were digging, and filling it up. Their zeal was not diminished by this accident, and they still continued their labour. At last, on the 19th of July, they got at these unfortunate people, who had been buried in this abyss for the space of nine days. They had subsisted there the whole time on four pounds of bread, eight pints of water, and a candle. Every possible precaution was taken in bringing them back to the open air, and giving them food by degrees, and they had the good fortune to be completely restored to health.

The

1754.

The disputes which arose between the physicians and surgeons, was the cause of the latter becoming illustrious, from their being obliged in future to apply themselves to study, and forming a Royal Academy among their own body, where questions were proposed and prizes distributed. The famous la Peyronnie laid the first foundation of it: he obtained of his Majesty, to have a superb amphitheatre constructed at Montpellier, for the purpose of anatomical demonstrations. Lewis XV. consented to it the more readily, as he was much attached to his first surgeon, and fond of his art; prodigies of which he had seen after the battles of Fontenoi and Laufeld. The King about that time bought of a man named Brassard, a master surgeon at Berry, the secret of the Agaric of the Oak, the property of which is to stop blood without ligature, in amputations and hæmorrhages; and his Majesty caused this secret immediately to be made public throughout his kingdom, for the relief and preservation of his subjects.

Alas! all this learning, and these united improvements, could not prevent the greatest misfortune, undoubtedly, France had experienced during the interval of the two wars we are treating of. This was the death of Marshal Saxe, which happened at Chambord, in the forty-fifth year of his age. Many anecdotes were related about this event, as is always the case in any thing that concerns extraordinary men. The truth is, that he died in his bed, from the consequences of his debaucheries. During the two last years of his life, he was reduced to the state of a walking skeleton, retaining nothing but his name. With regard to this circumstance, he has justly incurred the reproach of not having been nice enough

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30 Nov.
1750.

1754.

in the gratification of his passions, since they brought him to a premature end. Otherwise, this excessive taste for courtezans was, perhaps, the source of all his exploits, and of his glory. If the intercourse was injurious to his health, and debilitating, it did not in the least restrain the freedom of his understanding, and his soul still preserved all it's energy. He was aware of the danger of a serious and tender attachment. How many military Commanders do we see lost in the indulgences of a soft passion! Besides, the extreme attachment of an actress for the Marshal, was a proof, that women of this kind are not incapable of the most generous efforts, and the most heroic sacrifices. Who does not know that Mademoiselle le Couvreur had sold her jewels to make up his equipages, at the time of his election to the Dutchy of Courland? And, when this conduct is compared with that of a Great Lady, who, in a fit of inordinate jealousy, was guilty of the most vile, base, and atrocious crime against her rival, who would not rather have imitated the example of the Marshal, and preferred the actress to the Princess*?

Count

* The following anecdote is universally known. The Dutches of Bouillon having threatened Mademoiselle le Couvreur, if she did not give up Marshal Saxe entirely to her, with the effects of her rage; one day, when the latter was playing the part of Racine's Phedra, in the presence of the Dutches, the actress cast a look of indignation at her while she was pronouncing these lines:

*Je ne suis point de tes femmes hardies;
Qui goutant dans le crime une tranquille pain
Ont su se faire un front qui ne rougit jamais.*

am

Count Saxe had a great share of bodily strength, and his constitution was strong in proportion, although the latter is not always the consequence of that natural quality. The gratification of sensual pleasure was not so much a passion as an appetite in him. He thought the same with regard to others, and this idea had influenced the plan of discipline established in his army. He had appointed at Brussels a place for the indulgence of his soldiers in this particular. A centinel was posted at the door, with orders to hinder any officer, who might be inclined to it, from coming in. His motive in this was, to prevent the fatal inconveniences of their mixing with mean and low company: he took it for granted, that the officers might provide themselves elsewhere.

Marshal Saxe was not more delicate in his friendships with men—he was very intimate with a Farmer General, whose name was la Poupeliniere. Madame de Pompadour * asked him one day what qualities he found in that man, that could engage the Marshal to keep him company; *Madam*, answered the Marshal, *he has one quality, which to me is a very excellent one:*

I am not hardened in the track of vice,
As those, who, strangers to the conscious blush,
Revel in crimes with an unruffled mind.

Mademoiselle le Couvreur died soon after of poison.

* See *Memoirs of Madame de Pompadour*, &c. a work, the authenticity of which is as doubtful as her Letters, but which we follow, when it is in conformity with the manuscripts we have under our eyes, or at least does not contradict them, and in other respects has some resemblance.

1754.

*for when I am in want of a hundred thousand livres *, I find them in his coffers ; whereas, when I apply to the Comptroller General, he always tells me that he has no money.*

This was the consequence of his attachment to gold : he was great only in war—in every thing else, he had the littleness of vulgar minds ; and confirmed the truth of la Bruyere's saying, that no man is a hero to the eyes of his valet de chambre. He was very coarse in his language, and swore like a trooper, had not the least tincture of literature, and did not even know how to spell. In the *Memoirs of Noailles* †, we find a letter from him to this old Marshal, in which he consults him upon the occasion of a seat that was offered to him in the French Academy ; he had the good sense, however, to decline this honour. The book, which is entitled *his Reveries*, published after his death, is not written by him, but is composed upon his ideas, and upon what his companions in war had heard him say. This work has made a revolution in our tactics, already begun by the Chevalier Folard, the translator and commentator of Polybius, who died a little time after Marshal Saxe. Since this period, several of the military have applied themselves to their profession, have studied and written upon it.

The death of this hero afflicted the whole kingdom, which considered him as their shield. Lewis XV. felt the loss more than any other person ; he said ; *I have no more Generals—I have none but Captains left.* Not being able, on account of his religion,

* Upwards of four thousand pounds.

† Published by the Abbé Milon.

1754.

to grant him, as had been done to Turenne, a place in the church of St. Dennis, among the tombs of the Sovereigns, he ordered that the expences of conveying his body, and burying it at Straßbourg, should be taken out of the Royal Treasury; and M. Pigal, a celebrated sculptor, was directed to erect a mausoleum of marble to him, the monument, and last reward of this Marshal's services. M. d'Alembert, already known to be a great Geometrician, but who was not then received into the French Academy, having not yet tried his powers in literature, and seeming to have little pretension to wit, made his first essay in an epitaph upon Marshal Saxe. Though an indifferent composition, it was much in vogue, and the name of it's author alone has rescued it from oblivion: the reader may judge of it.

Carthage and Rome, two rival Chiefs have claim'd,
For coolness one, for enterprize one fam'd;
Thy Saxon Champion, France, hath both surpass'd,
Cool as the first, and ardent as the last *.

The death of Marshal Lowendhal, which happened a few years afterwards, deprived the nation of that other defender, that only pupil of Marshal Saxe; who was able to succeed him, notwithstanding the *bon môt* of a Courtier, who, after the death of Count Saxe, had said: *Lowendhal will do no good in the war hereafter, for his Counsellor is dead.*

27 May.
1755.

* Rome eut dans Fabius un guerrier politique;
Dans Annibal, Carthage eut un chef héroïque;
La France plus heureuse, eut dans ce fier Saxon,
La tête du premier, et le bras du second.

The

1754.

The King gave a pension of twenty thousand livres † to his widow, and to his son his regiment of German infantry. So generous a treatment ought not to have disgusted foreigners from entering into his Majesty's service; but the jealousy of the Great, and of the Ministers, prevented them in future, and was the cause of the misfortunes we are going to relate.

† Upwards of eight hundred pounds.

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